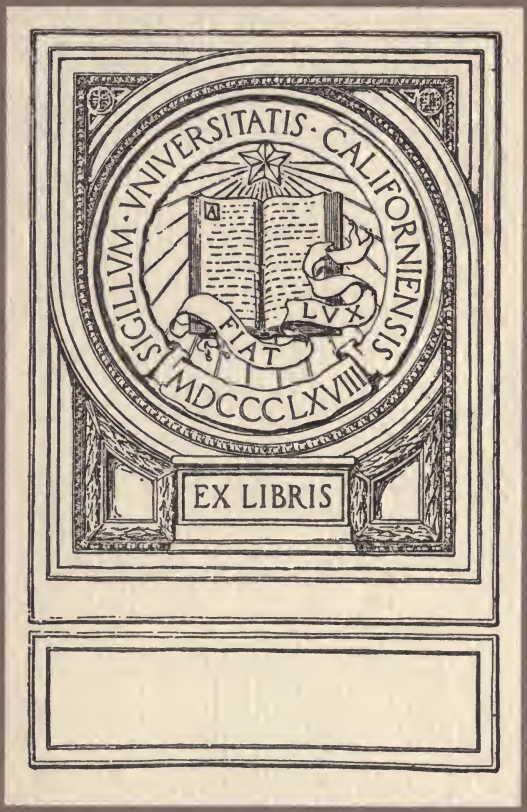
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# TRUE

# CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

# TRUE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

ANDREW SALL,
DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

## A SERMON

PREACHED BY HIM AT CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN, BEFORE THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL, THE 5th DAY OF JULY, 1674;

WITH A DECLARATION MADE IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, IN CASHEL, BEFORE THE ARCHBISHOP OF THE PROVINCE;

AND A PREFACE SHEWING THE REASONS FOR DESERTING THE COMMUNION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND EMBRACING THAT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND EDITED,

WITH

A MEMOIR AND NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE AND BIOGRAPHICAL,

BY THE REV. J. ALLPORT,

MINISTER OF ST. JAMES'S, BIRMINGHAM.

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# DEDICATION.

TO THE

## RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT LORTON.

Dear Lord Lorton,

I had several reasons for dedicating the present volume to you, and for desiring your permission so to do. It is completely Irish; and it exposes with ability and force, neither of which for a moment can be questioned, the errors, the iniquities, and the malignity of that system, which is the overwhelming and almost solitary cause of the deplorable evils under which Ireland has so long groaned, and still, perhaps increasingly, groans; and in the removal of which alone Ireland can find spiritual health and national prosperity.

An additional motive for the liberty which I now take is supplied by the circumstance, that to you, my Lord, I am indebted for the honour of introduction to your pious and benevolent relation, the late deeply lamented Countess of Rosse, whose generosity enabled me to pursue studies and persevere in a course of exertion, which, however grateful for their end, have brought with them no little vexation and hazard in the evil times on which we are fallen, when the agitating and servile mercenary of Rome often obtains more favour

than the faithful and uncompromising servant of British Christianity.

Your Lordship will allow me to proceed to obligations more personal, and to express my deep gratitude for the friendly and unsought partiality, by which you have uniformly been pleased to encourage my efforts in a cause which is most dear to yourself—the welfare of your own Country. How much this subject engrosses your attention and exertions; how feelingly you deplore the evils which are allowed and encouraged to prey upon the vitals of Ireland, and even to extend their pestilent influence to the Constitution in Church and State of the whole United Empire; and with what manly and Christian bearing, both in and out of Parliament, you have maintained the cause of your suffering Country—are facts, which the public voice has attested, and which, with the motives before specified, point to *your* Patronage, as the most suitable and desirable to be obtained by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's gratefully attached

and devoted servant,

JOSIAH ALLPORT.

*Birmingham,*
*June,* 1840.

## ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

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It may be proper for the Editor of this republication of the English portion of Dr. Sall's writings to observe, that considerable alteration has been occasionally made in the style of the original, which is, at times, rather too concise, and might, probably, in the present day, be regarded as evincing a degree of ruggedness; there occurs now and then also an obscurity, which it has been attempted in the alterations ventured upon to remove: but this, it is believed, has been effected without introducing any variation in the sense in which Dr. Sall himself would have explained his meaning. It is possible that his long acquaintance with the Spanish language, and conformity to its peculiar idiom, might have imparted the tinge observable in his English compositions.

All the publications connected with Dr. Sall's work—not to mention his own—are very rare, and almost unknown; perhaps not altogether undeservedly as respects those of his opponents; nevertheless it has been an object, of course, to see, and, if possible, peruse them. We have accordingly to express our obligations to the Rev. Cæsar Otway of Dublin, either for the loan or the possession of some of the rarest of the works

quoted in this volume, namely, those from the pen of the titular of Ferns, Dr. French.

To the Rev. GEO. INGRAM, also, Rector of Chedburgh, Suffolk, we are indebted for facilities in consulting, not merely various works in which Dr. Sall's conversion and his history are alluded to, but also his own publications, which are without exception, we may say, all rare, and almost unattainable. Most, if not all, of these are in the University Library, Cambridge.

From these sources we have been fully satisfied of the correctness and latitude of an observation made by the Rev. C. Otway, in the introduction to his Memoirs of Dr. Sall, which appeared in the Dublin Christian Examiner, for Nov. 1828, that his "*conversion* according to Protestants, his '*doleful fall*' as the Romanists term it, caused a considerable sensation at the period of its occurrence." Whilst his adopting and maintaining the *liberal* sentiments of an enlightened and Catholic Christian, gave great umbrage to the sons of Rome, and his abandoning her and joining the true Catholic Church, drew upon him the usual furious ire of the Papacy, it is pleasing to find how his character was estimated, and his attainments spoken of, in his own day, by various writers of the time and subsequently. Not to anticipate the testimonies adduced in the following pages, we just advert to a few others. In "*an Historical Relation of several great and learned Romanists who embraced the Protestant Religion*," published in London in 1688, Andrew Sall brings up the rear; and an account is given of him at some length from his own statement: after which, the writer, speaking of his Sermon, says, it

shews him to have read much and to have seriously studied the point of his conversion.

In a tract published in London in 1718 by a member of the Convocation against Dr. Snape, a portion of which was intended to exhibit the arts of the Jesuits and their base efforts to deceive and disturb mankind, amongst others is noted (what is still their practice) that of aiming to blacken the characters of any who shall dare to quit their community; and Sall's case is dwelt upon as one in point. He had the character, says the author of the Tract, quoting from Cox's History of Ireland, pt. III. p. 25, of "a learned and pious man, who had been in great esteem among that party; he was afterwards made one of the King's Chaplains, and continued a good Protestant to his death. But when the Jesuits lost him they blackened him in several libels and bitter invectives." And the writer then enters upon evidence in his defence. We might adduce other such instances.

The reply of *I. S.*, to which the second part of Dr. Sall's volume contains a rejoinder, the Editor was privileged to consult in the Bodleian Library, Oxford—the only place, public or private, where he has been able to ascertain that a copy exists, excepting one which is understood to enrich a Roman Catholic Collection; and to *that* he had no particular claims which might entitle him to an inspection.

In the Sermon which commences this Volume Dr. Sall has been largely indebted to the first part of Bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, from which he has borrowed most of his authorities—and which, we

must here remark, are far more accurately printed in the present than in Dr. Sall's own publication.

The Notes must be left to speak for themselves—we would merely observe that care has been taken to identify and correct the references in Dr. Sall's own, and that we consider ourselves fortunate in having been able —though to ever so limited an extent—to support the statements from the anonymous writer largely quoted in part I. chap. IX. beginning at p. 163, and continued through Chapters X. and XI. from Papal authorities— this has been done, however slightly, yet far more satisfactorily than could have been hoped for; but we place importance upon it, because it tends to corroborate the remaining statements materially.

# MEMOIR OF DR. ANDREW SALL.

[In presenting the Reader with the promised Memoir of Dr. Sall, we have done little more than transfer to our pages the Sketch of him which appeared, as already observed, in the Dublin *Christian Examiner* for November, 1828, from the pen of the Rev. Cæsar Otway. Such passages only are omitted, as were derived from Sall's own account of himself, and which here appear in their proper place in the Preface to his *True Catholic Faith;* and in their stead such other matter has been added as we have been able to collect from other mediums of information.]

ROMISH writers and orators have often boasted, that no upright, intelligent, *consistent*, and permanent convert from them, has ever been gained over to the Established Church. In this respect they would seem to rely on a promise, said to have been extorted from the Virgin Mary by St. Patrick, that collectively or individually, the Irish should not plunge into the abyss of heresy. In the present instance at any rate, we have an individual to notice, who may be said to disprove the promise—though in reply, it may be urged, that the Virgin is yet as good as her word, for Andrew Sall was not of the "mere Irishry"—he was not a Milesian—his heretical pravity was perhaps owing to the Saxon taint in his blood; at all events he was a Jesuit of the highest Order—had solemnized his fourth* vow—an eminent scholar—a great linguist—a deep divine—who, after mature deliberation, sprung over the pale of Popery, and took refuge in the Established Church, of which he became a valuable Minister, and to which he adhered consistently until his dying hour.

Dr. Sall was born in the vicinity of Cashel, where his family were possessed of property granted to them, as English settlers in

* Jesuits of the highest Order, besides the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, make a fourth of peculiar obedience to the Pope, whereby they bind themselves to go any where, or do any thing to support the cause of the Roman See.

the reign of Elizabeth.* How this family became Popish, or how the subject of this Memoir became a student in a Romish seminary abroad, I have not been able to ascertain, but have reason to believe that after a certain probation at St. Omer's, he was transferred to Valladolid in Spain, for future training and perfection as a hopeful and efficient Jesuit. There lies before me a curious quaint book, composed by an ex-Jesuit of the name of Carpenter, and entitled "Experience, History, and Divinity," and printed in 1650, in which in a wild and rambling way, he tells many curious things about Popery and Jesuitism. He thus describes the way in which English and Irish youths were disposed of at Foreign Seminaries:—

"It is the course of the Jesuits at St. Omer's, to send in the time of harvest, two missions of English Scholars into remoter parts of the Christian world, one to Rome and another to Valladolid in Spain. In these places are English Colleges, the Superiors and Governors, Jesuits;—and here I have a notable trick to discover of these Jesuits; their best and most able scholars they always send to Spain, and only their weaker vessels to Rome, and it is a great proportion of their labour to win their apt scholars, by favours, by promises and much cunning, to become Jesuits, and so they never leave any (if all they can do, will do withal) for the secular Priests, but they leave the lean, bony end, and the refuse for them. Their manner is to make trial of every one that comes, what nature and spirit he is of, partly by applying subtle lads to him which keep him company, and turn him outward and inward again, and make return of their observations to the Jesuits; and partly by their own sifting him, either in discourse or examination, or some laboured exercise."

Andrew Sall tested in this way did not disappoint the clear-sighted anticipations of his triers—transmitted to Spain he arose to great eminence as a Theologian in their Schools, which were the best at that day in Romish Christendom; he became succes-

* Andrew was not the only Jesuit that the family produced; we find a James T. Sall flourishing as a Jesuit in Cashel, at the time of its capture by the Romish rebels, in the early part of the Rebellion of 1641; and, *he* on this occasion, acted with great humanity towards the Protestants, and actually saved the life, and afterwards protected Dr. Samuel Pullen, Chancellor of the Cathedral.

sively Reader of Divinity at Pampeluna, Professor at Tudela and Palencia, Rector of the Irish College, and Lecturer of Controversial Divinity at the University of Salamanca; here he enjoyed the rare privilege of having and using prohibited books, as appears by the Licence from the Inquisitor General of Spain, which Licence was annually renewed for the three years he acted in the above capacity: and not alone within the walls of his College was his high character confined, for we find the Conde de St. Stephano, Viceroy of Navarre, in a work of his, which one of his sons presented in person to Pope Alexander VII., giving a laboured eulogium of Dr. Sall, which has this heading, "Rev. P. Andreæ Salo Hiberno Societatis Jesu, Eulogium." Moreover, when it was judged expedient by his Superiors to remove him from his Professor's Chair at Pampeluna, we find the famous expatriated Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns,* expostulating with the Provincial of the Jesuits [in a remarkable manner, which appears in his letter given by Sall in the Preface to his *Catholic Faith* at p. 96 of the present Volume.]

Honoured and useful as he is thus shewn to have been in Spain, the time arrived when the Society required him as their useful and obedient instrument to proceed to his native Country, and there occupy a difficult and important mission.

The situation of the Church of Rome in Ireland, during the reign of Charles II. was peculiarly critical, and the management of its cause there required all the efforts of Jesuitical astuteness. The restoration of the King found Popery trampled to the dust under its Cromwellian conquerors—and so humbled, that many of the Clergy, and most of the influential Laity, chastened by adversity, were ready to swear allegiance to the King, and an instrument called the "Loyal Remonstrance" was drawn up, which purported that the subscribers were willing to adhere to their allegiance, even though the Pope should excommunicate and depose them; that they disclaimed all Foreign power, whether Papal or princely, temporal or spiritual, that should pretend to absolve them from their oath of allegiance.—This Remonstrance, drawn up by Richard Belling, and supported by the talents and countenance of such men as Peter Walsh, Caron, Lynch, and

* Of whom more by and by.

Harold, would, if it had been universally signed and adopted by the Romish Clergy and Laity of Ireland, have produced a public toleration of their Religion, and given their Lords and Commons admission to Parliament, and almost every other political privilege.

But it was determined at Rome that such a concession should not be made to the British Government—all the foreign-influenced Bishops, and the whole host of Jesuits, were set in array against it; and they so amply succeeded, by means of exciting the rabble against the gentry, and by excommunicating the Clergy who favoured the Remonstrance, that the hope of accommodation entirely failed. Walsh, Caron, Harold, &c., &c. were denounced as heretics—the Remonstrance was styled the infamous instrument that was to injure the Church more than any former persecution; and the Irish were exhorted to martyrdom rather than APOSTATIZE, by signing such a damnable doctrine.*

* Dr. O'Connor adverting to this transaction exclaims—Gracious heaven! must I be compelled to state with shame and anguish, that it was an unequal contest—that the foreign influenced Bishops knew the temper of which the Irish rabble were composed—that the stoutest hearts, whom no sword could conquer, and no danger could appal, trembled before an Episcopal censure, whether just or unjust, and that with such stuff to work on, every thing could be carried and was carried against the dearest interests, the properties, and genuine Religion of our honest ancestors, by an infamous excommunication.—Dr. O'Connor's (a Roman Catholic) Historical Address, p. 161. What a price Ireland has paid and is doomed to pay for Priests and Popery!

[Dr. Stillingfleet selects the Irish Remonstrance, and the treatment which its "authors and fautors" received, to shew that "that party which has been most destructive to *civil government* has ever had the most countenance and encouragement from Rome:"—

"The Popish Clergy of Ireland (very few excepted) were accused of Rebellion for opposing themselves to the King's authority, by the instigation of the Pope's *Nuncio;* after which followed a meeting of the Popish Bishops, where they banished the King's Lieutenant, and took the Royal Authority upon themselves; almost all the Clergy, and a great part of the people joined with them; and therefore it was necessary since the King's return, to give him better satisfaction concerning their Allegiance; and to decline the Oath of Allegiance which they must otherwise have taken, some of them agreed upon this *Remonstrance* to present to the King, the news of which was no sooner come to *Rome*, but Cardinal Barberini sent a letter to the *Irish Nobility*, 8th July, 1662, to bid them *take heed of being drawn into the ditch by those blind guides who had subscribed to some propositions testifying their Loyalty to the King, which had before been condemned by the Apostolic See.* After this the Pope's Nuncio at Brussels July 21, 1662, sends them word *how displeasing their Remonstrance was at Rome, and that after diligent examination* by the Cardinals and Divines, they found it contained

In order then to uphold Papal pretensions, which never were and never will, while Popery lasts, be effectually laid aside, a full and constant supply of Jesuits was necessary, and Andrew Sall was drafted for the service. On his arrival in Ireland, the foreign-influenced party, (at whose head was Peter Talbot, the Romish Archbishop of Dublin,) had in a great measure got the better of their antagonists—the Remonstrants were excommunicated and driven from their native land, leaving the field open for those, who, at the risk of a new Revolution, were determined to cast another die for the restoration to splendor of the Roman Church.

Sall, located in his native Province, and well adapted as he appeared to be, from the suavity of his manners, his cheerful consistent piety, and his acknowledged talents, had consigned to him the office of holding frequent communication with the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of Munster, in order to engage them in the projects and attach them to the interests of the CHURCH.

While thus sojourning in the house of a Roman Catholic lord, connected by kindred and cordial feelings with many of his Protestant neighbours, Sall was solemnly enquired of, whether there was any chance for salvation for these Protestant friends? Amiable and pitiful, Sall had even while in Spain, as a matter of scholastic disputation, maintained a thesis in the schools, that it was possible for those without the pale of the Church of Rome to be saved; and it is curious to observe, how within the reach of the Inquisition, and as it were beneath the fingers of its familiars, he could venture to uphold a tenet so subversive of pure Popery. But it only shews that in Spain, as prior to the Reformation over all Christendom, the slaves of the Pope were allowed saturnalian liberties; provided that at all times (as Luther has it) they forbore from meddling with the Priests' paunches or the Pope's crown. Sall, on the present occasion, in accordance with what he freely maintained in Spain, gave it as his decided opinion, that all who

propositions already condemned by Paul V. and Innocent X., and therefore the Pope gave them order to publish this among them; that he was so far from approving the *Remonstrance* that he did not so much as permit it, or connive at it, and was extremely grieved that the Irish Nobility were drawn into it, &c." *A Discourse upon Idolatry in the Church of Rome, and a particular account of her Fanaticisms*, (Lond. 1671,) pp. 305, 306.]

were baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, and who actually believed in all things set forth in the Apostles' Creed, would see the salvation of God.

It could not be that those liberal doctrines of our Jesuit should escape the notice of his brethren; it became a matter of notoriety and animadversion; and grievously did the trained bands of the Pope lament and chafe, when it became evident that this, their boasted member, their "*malleus hereticorum*," was likely to prove not only a useless, but dangerous tool. Sall describing their proceedings, states, that there was nothing that was bitter, nothing that was venomous and virulent, that they did not cast out against him;—all said, he was infected with heretical pravity —many declared, he was nothing but a rank Atheist. But, unmoved by these denunciations, he had the courage and consistency to preach at Cashel, before a large congregation of the Romish Nobility and Gentry, on the Salvability of Protestants, and afterwards he wrote a tract, and had it circulated amongst his detractors, in which he maintained his point, and adduced authorities in support of it, from Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and even the Popes' decrees. But all in vain, he might as well argue with the winds; and every where he was cried down.

[For a detail of his trials and conduct under them, and his whole procedure till his entire renunciation of the Romish Communion, the reader is referred to p. 82 of the present volume, and the five following pages, where he will find his own account at large.]

Having decidedly passed over to the Church of England, the last *peaceful* effort made to reclaim the lost sheep, was a solemn Bull of Pope Clement X., signed and sealed by his Protonotarius Apostolicus, Claudius Agreste, assuring him in terms of full authority, of an entire and absolute remission of all that was past, and a favourable reception and admission into his former condition and privileges, if he would return to the Church; and at the same time warning him of great evil designed, and which must befal him, if he persevered in his Apostasy.

Sall having returned no answer to this overture, a host of writers and literary traducers were let loose on him—a shower of books came down on him, (as he says himself) one upon the back of another:

"The first that appeared on the stage was J. E., a fit person to break the ice, a rough trotter, with a book of small bulk and less sense—bearing a thundering title, '*A Sovereign Counter-poison, prepared by a faithful hand, for the speedy reviviscence of Andrew Sall, a late Sacrilegious Apostate:*'—In this book he extravagantly extols me above the skies for what I was before, and depresses me under the abyss for what I am at present; now calling me Sacrilegious Apostate, and now dear Andrew, sweet Andrew, and what not."

It may be amusing to see a specimen of Father Egan's writing:—

"The restless and hellish labours of some pseudo prelates in compassing sea and land, to make one proselyte, are very strange—whereas, Apostates, made their Apostles, can be little purchase to Protestants, and the loss of Catholics much less, they having been twice dead, and canker-eaten branches, that could produce no fruit while united to the stock, much less could they after their separation. Their endeavour is not to go far off and convert Pagans from the worship of dead idols to serve the living God, but rather to pervert illuminated Christians; to corrupt and evacuate the Sovereignty of Christ's faith, by novel devices, foul lies, and forgeries is their main ambition. The main reason that put the author upon the sudden contrivance of this small tract, was to give a seasonable check to the despiteful malice, venom and brawny-faced impudence of the renowned wight, vile apostate, and professed enemy to Christ, Andrew Sall—to dash back all his shameless and thundering brawling strains of profound and wonderful nonsense, in his late open, avowed, and dirty practices in Dublin and elsewhere, all no better stuff than old worn-out bold railings, and false ignorant accusations of superstition, idolatry, sacrilege, &c. &c. against the Mother Church.

"O wretched Andrew, it would have been more advantageous to you to have your living body fastened to a rotten putrid carcase, than to have your soul fastened to the darkness and loathsomeness of cursed heresy and apostacy. Now, do consider the infinite advantages, prerogatives, and dignity of your former happy state, and compare it with your present deplorable, cursed, and most black condition—you were *vir Apostolicus*—now *Apostata, vilis dictu*—before, a most resplendent star in the firmament

of the true Church—now an obscure, dusky, and abominable *ignis fatuus*, leading yourself and others to the precipice of eternal perdition—before, a religious Priest—now an accursed Judas—before, conferring life and grace on others—now you are left destitute of all life, and light, and grace, blessing and goodness—before, called by the hand of God to a most high-saving dignity and honour—now blindly fallen from that into the Devil's jaws—before, an obedient child—now *factus liber voti fractus*—before, a chaste evangelical missioner—now a Sacrilegious SCORTATOR—before, reputed an honest man, *questuosus mercator*—now *fugitivus Apostata et seditiosus sectarius factus*—before, raised from a Sall to be a Paul, a preacher of the word and penance—now turned to be a Saul, a persecutor, and warring in a most furious manner against the heavenly witnesses of true faith, and so you are become a wretched lying vile Protestant—wallowing like a sordid, nasty, stinking sow, in the mire of liberty, libidinous lust, and pride, and concupiscence. Retire, retire, poor Andrew, to your interior man, have a care of your drooping soul—mind eternity."

A grave and honourable prelate (says Sall) reading this, said—"They were beholden to him for giving so good an account of what I was before, but needed not his information for what I am now, themselves knowing that better." And this egregious writer being questioned in a private discourse with what truth he could say, I was become so debauched since I came to the Reformed Church, living all that time very abstemious and retired in Trinity College, Dublin, and in good repute with those that conversed with me; he answered, that he never meant that I was really guilty of those vices, but in a metaphorical sense—for that the Church of England being a harlot, I embracing her communion, became guilty of spiritual uncleanness and all those vices he mentioned. He cannot deny that I know this to have been his answer. He was well contented that his followers should understand that I was really guilty of the debauchery he speaks of, but if brought to the test he is provided with the reserve aforesaid to come off with. The specimen I give (says Sall) of this man's genius, will, I presume, quit me in all good judgments, of any obligation to regard further what HE wrote against me.

"The next book published against me was entitled the 'Bleed-

ing Iphigenia,' by way of *Preface* to another greater preparing which soon after appeared under the title of '*the Doleful Fall of Andrew Sall;*' both written by a grave and ancient Prelate of my acquaintance in Spain."

In a collection of treatises by Morley, Bishop of Winchester, I find a letter addressed to French, Bishop of Ferns [the writer of the abovementioned pieces] by a Franciscan Friar, who though not named, was, I believe, the famous Peter Walsh, in which he animadverts very severely on the excessive uncharitableness of the attack of Bishop French on Sall and the Church of England. "If ever," says he, "there was a violation of that command of our Lord, 'nolite judicare,' it is on your part. The most tremendous, peremptory, cruel judgment that could be given by mortal men of others; it excludes for ever as well 'secundum præsentem,' as 'secundum futuram justitiam,' all the Church of England universally, both Priests and people, out of the mystical ark of Christ; and so, without any remorse or regret, I am sure without any sufficient examination of their cause, without any allowance to the insensible prepossession of their minds, without any regard to their particular merits or demerits. Your application of the Ark of God utterly raseth out of the book of life so many millions of human souls, who have since the Reformation, died or shall die hereafter in the Church of England, condemning them all without any exception to a deluge of fire, and the life of devils to a long eternity."

[Mr. Otway was quite right in his conjecture as to the above coming from the pen of Peter Walsh; and we present the reader with some further remarks of his on French's production.

"By this time you may remember in my last letter I promised to give you of Dr. *Sall* (the occasioner of your book and this letter) somewhat more than I said then. Know therefore that within some few days after (to be as good as my word) I found out his lodgings, and spent a great part of three days in his company, and put him many questions about himself and some matters of *fact* which happened before, and in, and since his change. And that he on the other side was (for ought I could perceive) as willing to answer, as I to demand. Among other things he told me at large the cause of your kindness to him, and great concern for him. He told me also that in case he had not

left the *Roman communion*, he had nevertheless resolved to leave the Jesuits' Order, and this for some, as well doctrines, as practices maintained by, if not peculiar to that *Society*. And yet withal he averred to me, that neither his own Order nor any other Order or person of the *Roman* Church had ever offended him, or given him by any such offence, the least occasion of quitting their Communion. That only his own reading, and this also in our Schoolmen, was it that changed his judgment. And that no earthly consideration, but the irresistible power of Truth, and the insupportable tortures of those *ictus*' and *laniatus*' of Conscience, which must be at long running the unhappy conquest of all that continue *rebels against the light*, (Job xxiv. 3.) made him resolve at last, and in point of external profession of faith or communion of Sacraments, exchange the present Church of *Rome*, for the present Church of *England*. He moreover told me he had no thoughts of answering your book, but would assuredly I. S's. book, though he knew not the author, but thought him to be *John Sergeant*, a Secular Priest of note among the Roman Catholic English Clergy. And this is all I remember now of his discourse. Soon after he departed for *Dublin;* where I suppose he has been hard at study ever since. For though I have no correspondence with him in any manner, nor enquired, nor heard of him all this while; yet I can tell you this is but the fourth day since I saw a fair MS. come hither from him (but some days before) to be printed in answer to three several books written against him, the one by I. S , the other by I. E., and the third by N. N. I had no leisure to look into it, but only to see the title-page, whereby I saw however, that in reference to your book, he entertained new thoughts after departing hence."—Peter Walsh's Letter addressed to *Nicholas French*, of Ferns, dated London, March 13, 1676, and included in his *Four Letters*, published *anno* 1686, pp. 122—24 ]

In the commencement of his "Bleeding Iphigenia," (which is in effect more a defence of the Popish Clergy in Ireland, during the great rebellion, against the accusations of Lord Orrery, than an attack on Sall) he thus speaks of Sall :—

"A public abjuration of the Roman Catholic Faith made by A. Sall, a Jesuit of the fourth vow, gave me great heaviness, for I loved the man dearly for his amiable nature and excellent parts,

and I esteemed him both a learned and pious person, and so did all who knew him ; however this sudden change of him made me say with sad attention these words of St. Paul, ' He that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall;' for God knows I no ways feared that this man could have fallen into heresy."

Bishop French's larger work, ' The Doleful Fall,' is scarcely less angry and vituperative than the tract of Friar Egan. It begins thus—" O Sall, tell us, what domineering spirit of darkness, what black temptation hath drawn you out of the house of God. O mistaken soul, thou hast forsaken the Ark, to drown thyself in the deluge. Hearken, unhappy man, flying out of the temple, hearken to God crying upon thee, what is that my beloved hath in my house done?—Mad mischief—as if God would say in a complaining way, what have I done to this man, that he has become so wicked and ungrateful? First, What sin so abominable as abjuration of the holy Faith, which is spiritual rebellion, a treason against heaven, a separation from God eternally, a declared war against the Holy Trinity? Secondly, Deserting your Faith, without which there is no salvation; you have damned your own soul to all eternity."

Farther on he says, " Consider, Sall, having departed out of the Catholic Church, what eternity you may await for, an eternity of flames and darkness and inconsolable lamentation."

It is, as Mr. Otway has well remarked, pleasant to have to record the concluding words of the amiable Franciscan, as a Christian contrast to the *horribile decretum* of the bigot of Ferns.* " God of his infinite mercy grant, that our controversial

* It may not be amiss to give the character of French of Ferns, as drawn by a Roman Catholic, (Dr. Charles O'Connor.) " No man," says he, (page 241, Letter of Columbanus) " who is not acquainted with the character of French, Bp. of Ferns, can adopt any of the imputations which he throws out against the Duke of Ormond in his UNKIND DESERTER, since French himself had so often changed sides, that no reliance could be placed on his word. French was Chancellor and Chairman of the exclusive Synod of Waterford, in 1646. He changed sides soon after, and was sent Ambassador to Rome by the nobility and gentry in 1647. On his return, in 1648, he promoted the second peace; but scarcely was that concluded when he changed sides again, and signed the excommunication denounced by the foreign-influenced Bishops at Jamestown. He then went to Brussels, with instructions from the same foreign-influenced men, to offer the crown of Ireland to the Duke of Lorraine: and here, (see p. 455 of O'Connor's Historical Address) in order to transfer the crown of Ireland from its right

thoughts on every side may centre at last in truth and in happiness. I am sure they are in themselves at least no other than vexations and afflictions of spirit. But what shall we say, or shall we answer in the words of Solomon—'This sore trouble hath God given to the sons of men, to be exercised therewith.' But our comfort is that it shall not be so for ever. 'We know that when he, the Lord Jesus, shall appear, we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is;' but seeing him, 'what is it we shall not see?' said Gregory the Great. But then, if on the contrary, our unfortunate checking of the light of conscience should thus deprive us of seeing that light of lights, and supereessential fountain of all light, what shall become of us? O thou keeper of men, prevent this dreadful IF, oh thou that desirest all men to be saved, and for that end to come to the knowledge of the truth; oh thou that rejoicest not in the destruction of the living, but in their correction and amendment—*hic* ure, *hic* seca, ut in æternum parcas—*here* burn, *here* cut, that thou mayest spare for ever." London, 13th March, 1676. But Peter Walsh was excommunicated, and counted a heretic, and his life attempted, so that these his Christian aspirations would go for nothing with a real Papist.

Sall's answer to the Bishop of Ferns was perfectly temperate and firm; he says in his Preface—

"The good will and pious intention of this Prelate, I truly love and honour, and accordingly will endeavour to satisfy in sober, serious, and sincere terms."

He therefore published a very valuable work indeed, entitled, "*True Catholic and Apostolic Faith maintained in the Church*

owner to a Flemish Papist Prince, who was a notorious adulterer; he forged Lord Taafe's name to an instrument, and thus added (as O'Connor says) forgery to sacrilege, and thus the spiritual power of the Keys, and that sacred authority which were equally committed to all Bishops by the voice of Inspiration for the benefit of immortal souls, and in reference to eternity, were made subservient to ambition, instrumental to malignity, and prostituted to intrigue. He was afterwards concerned in carrying on a secret negotiation with Cromwell against the Royal Family. He then had the effrontery to wait on King Charles II. at Paris, who refused to see him. At the Restoration, he was instrumental in opposing the Loyal Remonstrance; and was one of those who, wiping their mouths, said, that with regard to the King, as they knew no crime they were guilty of, so they needed no pardon. Such a disloyal intriguer and busy bigot was not allowed to return to Ireland—he died in Spain.

*of England, by Andrew Sall, D.D, being a reply to several Books published under the names of I. E., N. N., and I. S.*" I am not acquainted with a better Controversial work than this; it is written in a truly Christian spirit, out of which he is never tempted to step; it exhibits considerable acuteness in argument, great learning, and is altogether worthy of being reprinted. Very few converts from the Church of Rome have served the Cause of the English Church so well.

[It may be permitted us here to present the Reader with a specimen of Bishop French's (the N. N. among Sall's opponents) view of the character and writings of the defenders of the Church of England:—At page 236 of *the Doleful Fall*, quoting with approbation from another Romish author, we have as follows, edit. 1749:—

"I really perceive a strange humour in our Protestant writers. You have their books, it is true, difficulties now and then hinted at, words multiplied, much talk in general, intricate discourses carried in darkness, (and this to amuse a vulgar reader) weak conjectures enough, now drawn from this, now from that evidenced authority: margins charged with *Greek* and *Latin*, and they must be thought learned margins.

"But after all you see the main difficulties waved, you find nothing proved, nothing clearly reduced to any other owned principle but their own proofless word and bare assertion, insomuch as I am apt to believe (if I think amiss, God forgive me) all that Protestants aim at in their Polemical writings, is only to keep up talk in the world, and glory when they have the last word in controversy, whether a proved word, or no, it imports not, so it may be proved they answer it."—*Protestancy without principles, or Sectaries unhappy fall from Infallibility to fancy laid forth* by *E. W*[orsley] printed at Antwerp 1668, p. 320:—no bad description of sundry Romish writings.

In the following we meet with some fancies which have been revived in Ireland of late.

"We have been above 1000 years and more in possession, before the world heard anything of *Luther* and his knot of Schismatical companions, are not we then *Priores tempore?* But they will perhaps tell us, they have prescribed against us by holding our Churches, Benefices, and all power and jurisdiction

in England for 100 years and more; to this we reply, that violence gives no ground to Prescription: we allege that undeniable rule of the Law:—*possessor malæ fidei illo tempore non prescribit*, that is, 'a Professor of evil faith or conscience can never prescribe, *(mala fides* here is *mala conscientia)*' and doth cut off all title they can make to prescription. It is manifest to the world all they have of ours, they have against conscience, and so their crime in holding that by force, which by justice is ours, is the more grievous, and the longer they retain them the greater is their sin." *Doleful Fall*, pp. 237, 238.]

But, (to return to Mr. Otway's narrative,) before closing this imperfect memoir, I desire to shew its subject in a more interesting light, than as a polemic contending against the barbarous bitterness of the Romish Priests whom he had deserted. Indeed, it would have been scarcely possible for such a mind as his to have remained amongst them. Dr. Sall, well acquainted with the Irish language, and knowing that the only way to spread the Gospel amongst his deluded and dark Countrymen was, to give them the word of God in their own language, therefore entered readily into the views of that super-excellent individual, the Hon. Robert Boyle, and became his co-adjutor in the great work he had in hand, the printing and publishing of an Irish Bible. In the VIth Volume of Boyle's works,* we find a few Letters from Sall on this important subject, extracts from which may not be uninteresting, as they shew what an interest these good men took in this but too neglected cause. He writes from Christ's Church, Oxford, whither he had gone to print his book, 1678—

"Whereas you are pleased to give me leave to deliver my opinion, touching your design of printing the New Testament in Irish, and how it may conduce to the conversion of these miserably deluded souls; I bless God for inspiring you with such holy zeal, and those that join you therein, and doubt not but that it may conduce highly to the glory of God, the good of men's souls, and the credit of our government: if the other Prelates and pastors of Ireland did use such measures as the good Archbishop of Cashel does, (Dr. Price) by communing with the natives, and bringing them to hear and read the word of God—and specially,

* Page 593.

if in the College there was course taken for obliging or enticing such as expect to have Orders, read and declare the Holy Scripture in Irish, for want of which, I saw good men in both kingdoms give grievous complaint."

From Dublin he writes to Mr. Boyle, dated May, 1680.

"I am now to give you an account of my endeavours to concur with your most noble and holy zeal of bringing the word of God to the hands and hearing of this most miserably blind people. I conferred with the Lord Lieutenant (Ormond,) my Lord Bishop of Meath, and with the Provost of the College, and found all three most willing to concur in the matter! I doubt not to find the same inclination in my Lord the Primate, and other worthy persons. I hope God will raise men of good spirits to advance this work for the good of poor souls. I intend to set forth in three days for Cashel, there and elsewhere preaching in Irish, I will endeavour to prepare the way for the reading of your Irish Testament."

From Cashel he writes in the October following.

"Since my last I have spent my time preaching and catechising in English and Irish every Sunday in this city and country near it, when God was pleased to visit me with a dangerous sickness of the country disease. I was given over for dead; but he has been pleased to restore me to my former measure of health. May it be to his honour and glory!—

I fully approve of your intention to apply in the Preface, what yourself and other Worthies think fit, of that used by the Jansenists in their French version; and am not a little joyed to hear of so great an advance to what is right on the part of the Catholics, as to suffer the Word of God to come into the Vulgar tongue. The best and greatest men of this Kingdom commend your pious zeal, and so approve of our endeavours to promote the spiritual welfare of this miserably blinded people. But besides the private opposition of the Romish Clergy, who would have themselves to be the only teachers, we have a more public and bolder opposition by some of our apparent, but very false brethren, who are not ashamed to profess a distaste of our endeavours to convert the natives of this country, upon the maxim of the American Planters, in hindering the conversion of slaves to the Christian Religion. One of them had the gallantry to tell me to

my face, and at my own table, that while I went about to gain the Irish (to God I mean) I should lose the English. Our good Archbishop has continual battles with them on this subject: but I hope God will help us to carry on his work against opposition."

Again he writes from Dublin, November, 1681.

"I am daily expecting the Old Testament in Irish to be sent to me, that I may see what it is, and what it wants, that I may contribute my small endeavours while those few live who have any zeal for the conversion of the natives. How few they be, I bemoaned sadly and seriously with my Lord Lieutenant this afternoon, admiring how few there were who followed your good cause, even of those whose calling did strictly oblige them to it, and from whom I am to expect little thanks for my endeavours to co-operate therein."

Good God! what a deplorable exposure does Dr. Sall make here of the base avarice, the short-sighted selfishness of these English landed proprietors, who, fearing that the instructed and converted Irish would be less their slaves, still conspired to keep them in the darkness of Popery—still left them in the clutches of the Priest? Or is it any wonder that the retributive vengeance of Providence should come down on their children and their children's children; and that revolution, and rebellion, and insurrection, should still keep this land convulsed and miserable?

But Sall hints at more monstrous conduct, he infers that some of the Clergy objected to the conversion of the natives, through the medium of their own language. Protestant Ecclesiastics were found who opposed and counteracted this work—and alas! Sall was not singular in making this remark; it was not a solitary occurrence—these base men were not confined to the year 1680. For near half a century before, Bedell was opposed in a similar manner, and on the very same grounds; and Bishop Burnet, his biographer says, "the Priests of the Church of Rome had reason to oppose the promoting of a book that had been so very fatal to them, but it was a deep fetch (of Satan we suppose) to possess Reformed Divines with a jealousy of this work, and of hard thoughts concerning it." Certainly, there was not only the greatest cruelty, but the most inordinate absurdity, in the conduct of these Church-men, who accused and ridiculed the Church of Rome for using prayers in an unknown tongue, and yet ex-

pected the Irish to come and hear them not only pray but preach in an UNKNOWN language—nay, who exacted by law a fine from them, if they absented themselves from a service of which they understood not a syllable. The rebellions of 1641, and the wars of the revolution were, perhaps, visitings from the Lord for these things; and was it any wonder that the Lord should avenge his soul on such a nation as this? There are yet found some who are careless, if not opposed to the conversion from Popery of the Irish—there are some who set no account on the efforts that are making to give a million of people a knowledge of the Gospel, through the only medium by which they can receive it—their own language. It would be well for *them* to consider that the Lord's arm is not shortened; there may be yet more rebellions and bloodshed in store for this distracted land.

Dr. Sall in a succeeding letter informs Mr. Boyle, that many Roman Catholic gentlemen had applied to him for Irish Testaments to read in their families, and one gentleman of influence promised Sall, that he would insist on his Parish Priest reading in his Mass-house, portions of the Irish Testament to the people. But all these good works and hopes fell to the ground, and we find in a few months after, early in the year 1682, Mr. Boyle in a letter to a friend, noticing the death of Dr. Sall, and lamenting it as not only an individual loss—an affliction to himself—but as a National calamity for Ireland. Sall died without having received any benefice in the Established Church; he was appointed indeed to the empty honour of King's Chaplain, but though promised by the Lord Lieutenant and the King himself, the promotion and independence he deserved, we find him in one of his letters to Boyle expressing his conviction, that there was some dark agency at work, which on sundry occasions interfered to obstruct his promotion—doubtless the Jesuits that wrought behind the shelter of the Duke of York, were instrumental to Sall's disappointments. He never was married, and by his celibate life he ought to have escaped the accusations which Romish adversaries have cast upon all converted Priests who have taken wives; but it appears from the writings of Friar Egan above quoted, that even he could not escape from the imputation of carnality, he must be designated a *Scortator*.

Dr. Sall has left behind him no other works, as far as I can

ascertain, than a Latin tract, entitled VOTUM PRO PACE; a Latin Treatise on Morality, his TRUE CATHOLIC FAITH MAINTAINED, and the SERMON preached in Dublin on occasion of his recantation.

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[Anthony Wood gives a summary account of Sall which as it respects his Preferment, differs somewhat from the foregoing. He says,*—"In the latter end of July or thereabouts, an. 1675, he came to Oxon, and by Letters of commendation was not only received into Wadham Coll. where he continued for some Months, but afterwards actually created (not incorporated) D.D.; and in the Act following (as in that of 1677) he shewed himself a smart disputant in the Theological vespers, being then domestic Chaplain to his Majesty and dignified in Wales.

After he had remained in the said College, and in an house in Holywell adjoining for some time, in a weak and sickly condition, he, by the favour of Dr. Fell, removed to convenient lodgings in the Cloyster at Ch. Ch., near the Chaplain's quadrangle, where he remained about two years. In 1680 he went into Ireland to live upon his Preferments there, which were a-Preb. of Swords, the Rectory of Ard Mulchan, and a Chauntership of Cashels, where he continued in a weak condition till the time of his death on the 6th day of April, 1682, aged 70, or thereabouts, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin."

With respect to Dr. Sall's works, the Sermon, which commences the present Volume, was translated into French under the title of *Les Erreurs de l'Eglise Romaine refutees en un Sermon préché* le 5 de Juillet 1674—par A. Sall—traduit en François par un Ami de l'Auteur; imprimé a Londres vis a vis de l'Hostel d'Exeter, 1675.

This is a bare translation: it is very rare, but there are copies both in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the public Library, Cambridge. Since the following reprint of the Original passed the Press, a copy has appeared in one of Mr. Thorpe's Catalogues which is priced at 2 guineas. It is a small 12mo.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iv. Fasti Oxon. col. 356, edit. Bliss.

The Latin Treatise on Morality is thus entitled :—*Ethica, sive Moralis Philosophia ex Veterum et recentt. Sententiis;* &c. Oxon. 1680.—In the title to this neat little volume he is styled, "*S. T. D. Brit. Regi a Sac. Dom.*"

The title of the "Votum pro Pace" runs thus :—*Votum pro Pace Christiana, quo exponuntur et amoventur præcipua obstacula Pacis per Rom. Ecclesiæ Ministros objecta,* &c. Oxon. 1678.—This resembles his English work now reprinted, very much, especially in the Preface, which the Latin almost copies *verbatim.* He makes a curious remark on the work of Suarez, on p. 56, which may be worth quoting.

"Nimirum doctrina resurrectionis Christi à mortuis, si à Romista tradatur, Apostolica est; non item, si à Doctore Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ.

Siste Lector, et pende Romanum supercilium hic magnifice elatum. Fama est non pauca, erripsisse huic *Suarii* libro, quæ ab ipsius calamo, aut mente, non emanaverant."

The fact of reprinting Dr. Sall's work which forms the bulk of this volume—*True Catholic and Apostolic Faith maintained in the Church of England*—engages, in a great measure, our assent to its sentiments and opinions. We attach value to it not so much for the quantum of Evangelic Truth, which constitutes the essence of that Faith and the basis of our Church, as for its full and explicit testimony against Romanism, or that system of departure from the true Catholic Faith, of which he gives evidence as one who knew what he spake, and whereof he affirms, and whose testimony to the errors and corruptions of the Papacy cannot be gainsaid. But it is needful, especially in the present times, that we qualify our approbation of such sentences as appear rather to subject the Scriptures to the interpretations of the earlier ages; and this leads us to subjoin a few reflections upon the much lauded quotation from Vincent of Lerins, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus,* &c. of which Sall also expresses his admiration.

Denique regulæ usus difficillimus, et supra vires non plebis modo, sed et omnium fere doctorum. Quis enim Herculeum laborem illum peragere potest, ut de iis *quæ ubique, quæ semper, quæ ab omnibus credita sunt,* inquirere valeat? Quanta linguarum peritia! quanta diligentia! &c.

Vincentianum igitur axioma ad noscendam antiquitatem prodesse potest, ad intelligendam veritatem non potest, cum suasit et errori vetustas. Basnagii *Annales politico-eccles, tom.* 2, p. 554.]

P.S.—The speech of the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee. upon Maynooth College, which is quoted in subsequent pages of this Volume will be found in "THE WITNESS" for 1839, p. 187; and for illustrations of such blasphemous assumptions as are noticed on p. 347 see Bishop Barlow's "*Popish Principles*," or numbers 2, 3, and 4 of "THE WITNESS" for 1839, which contain copious extracts from that work.

## CORRIGENDA.

Page 24, Note * line 1, for 1433 read 433.
—— 31, Note * line 1, read—Vide Bellarm. lib. 4, de Rom. Pont. c. 2.
—— 90, Note †. We were misled by the *Catholicon* in supposing that Dr. W. Whittaker's works contributed to Sall's change of sentiments. They are introduced by French merely in illustration.
—— 139, Note * for *Di*, read Dr.
—— 140, about the middle, erase the point after *Hen. à.*
—— 144, the Notes should be transposed.
—— 148, line 3, for *intentis*, read intentio, and remove the comma after the word.
—— 195, line 11, for *Mordin*, read Merdin.
—— 206, line 2 from bottom, read the Note on the opposite page at "Baronius.'
—— 214, middle line, read Martin V. instead of IV.
—— 217, in the Note, dele period after *Concilia*, and read tom. 3.
—— 218, Note, line 10, for *varæ*, read veræ; and on next page, nearly opposite, for *et vice*, read ut vice.
—— 225, Notes, line 2, for 353, read 35. 3, and in the next line, for *Roffin's*, read John Roffensis, and alter the comma at *primo* and *Elis* into a period.
—— 229, Notes, last line, for 1688, read 1668.
—— 276, Note † erase "p. 10."
—— 284, Note, line 1, for *præmia*, read Paræmia.
—— 315, to Notes, add, "or Crabb's Technological Dictionary."
—— 356, line 2 from bottom, for *Riccinis*, read Rinuccinis.
—— 383, line 3 of Notes from bottom for *liberet* twice, read biberet.
—— 396, line 8, for *folly*, substitute fallacy.

A

# SERMON

PREACHED AT

## CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN,

BEFORE THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL,

THE FIFTH DAY OF JULY, 1674.

WITH

## A DECLARATION

MADE IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH IN CASHEL; BEFORE THE ARCHBISHOP OF THAT PROVINCE; AND A

## PREFACE,

SHEWING THE REASONS FOR DESERTING THE COMMUNION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND EMBRACING THAT OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY


## MR. ANDREW SALL,

FORMERLY OF THE ORDER OF JESUS, AND PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE COLLEGE OF PAMPLONA, PALENCIA, AND TUDELA IN SPAIN; ELECTOR AND PROFESSOR OF CONTROVERSY IN THE IRISH COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA, PROFESSOR OF MORAL THEOLOGY IN THE COLLEGE OF THE SOCIETY IN THE SAME UNIVERSITY; NOW PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE REFORMED CHURCH OF IRELAND, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HONOURABLE ARTHUR EARL OF ESSEX, LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.



PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

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1840.



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# Dedication.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HONOURABLE

## ARTHUR,

*Earl of* Essex, *Viscount* Malden, *Baron* Capel *of* Hadham, *Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of his Majesty's Kingdom of* Ireland, *Lord-Lieutenant of the County of* Hertford, *and one of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.*

May it please your Excellency,

*The love of Truth made me forsake what I loved most of worldly things, and occasioned my dearest friends to become my bitterest enemies; tyranny stopped my mouth formerly from speaking truth, and malice subrogated now pursues me even where I expected liberty, being busy, as I am informed, in contriving (if not my destruction) my discredit, that I might not be able to speak against errors, too much prevailing in the world, or not to be credited, when I should do it.*

*The fame of your Excellency's heroic endowments, and Christian zeal for truth and holiness, derived from your illustrious progenitors, and more immediately from your most honourable and renowned father of glorious memory, have encouraged me to address myself to your Excellency's protection in this more than ordinary necessity thereof. The most gracious reception, which your Excellency was pleased to give me, emboldened me to manifest the justification of my departure from the* Romish *communion, and my adhering to the purity of Catholic Religion, as it is professed by the Church of* England, *in a Sermon preached at the Royal Chapel of* Christ Church,

*in your honourable presence. And the singular benignity wherewith your Excellency and your illustrious attendants were pleased to hear and approve of my discourse upon that subject, gives me confidence to present to your Excellency, and to recommend to your protection, the same discourse when ordered to publish it; that, being honoured in the front with your Excellency's illustrious name, it might the better withstand the assaults of envy and malice.*

*The adversaries of our doctrine are so active in advancing their faction, that where they cannot practise violence, their contrivances do reach to terrify sincere minds from professing or speaking what they judge to be right. I have but too much ground to think it is so with very many in this country and abroad. It is more want of courage, than of knowledge, which keeps many good men under this yoke; and such as know their ways may think it a wonder, that any who were among them of note, should dare to oppose them. It will be a singular glory of your Excellency, if under your shelter we may enjoy the freedom of speaking truth. Peace is the foundation of happiness and lustre in any government, and the fiercest enemy of peace is dissension in religion. Of such dissension the only remedy by ordinary Providence, is, a free exchange of reasons, according to the rule of God's word, and within the bounds of Christian modesty. And this freedom being all my ambition, I cannot but assure myself of your Excellency's gracious protection and favour, which may enable me to praise God in this way: that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies might serve Him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him, all the days of our life.* (Luke i. 74, 75.)

*Praying continually to God, that He may be pleased to bless your Excellency with all prosperity, and further your holy intentions for the spiritual and temporal welfare of this kingdom, I cease to give your Excellency farther trouble; but shall ever remain,*

*Your Excellency's most humble*

*And obedient servant and chaplain,*

*ANDREW SALL.*

THE

# PREFACE.

## To my dear Countrymen, Friends, and Kinsmen of the *Roman* Communion in *Ireland.*

THE great scandal which you seem to have taken upon my withdrawing from the Communion of the Roman Church, and adhering to that of England, has occasioned that I should the more willingly obey the order I have received, of exposing to public view the account of my proceedings, and motives of my alteration, contained in this sermon, which I have preached in the Royal Chapel of Christ Church at Dublin, desiring that such as could not, or would not go thither to hear it, may, at their leisure, and without passion, read it. If my proceedings herein were indeed a scandal, I might justly fear that *woe** to him who gives it. But man's averse disposition is apt to term a scandal, what, in itself, is an example. And I have ground to hope that it is so with you at present in my concern. Certainly it may be called an example, and a good one, if you hear the voice of God, not to harden your heart, or shut your ears against it, though you may prudently examine the calling, and endeavour to be certified whether it be of God; and when you are assured that it is so, to obey your Lord and Maker, not heeding the cries of the world against you, nor the suggestions of human fear or shame. So did the blessed Virgin Mary, who hearing that high and honourable calling of God by the mouth of the Angel Gabriel, neither hardened her heart, nor shut her ears against it; nor yet did she give a sudden assent, but replied with a pressing reason, according to the rules of human discourse, saying, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" but convinced with superior evidences represented by the Angel, she obeyed promptly the will of God, not regarding her former apprehension of fear and shame. Her example I have followed: I heard the voice of God by several

* Matt. xviii. 7; Luke xvii. 1.

ways, interior and exterior, calling me out of the errors of my former profession. I neither hardened my heart with resolute obstinacy, nor gave a hasty assent to change; but, by prayer and study of many years, endeavoured to certify myself of the truth, by all the ways that I could imagine fit to find it out: and being at last fully convinced, resolutely embraced it and openly declared for it; not heeding the cries, nor fearing the menaces, of passion and malice against me. If you will not think fit to follow *my* example in this kind of proceeding, I hope you will not disdain to follow that which I proposed of the blessed Virgin Mary. If you hear the voice of God, by what mouth or means soever it comes, harden not your hearts; examine and try, in God's name, whether it be really his voice and will; and finding it is so, fear not to declare for Christ before the world, lest he may refuse to own you before his heavenly Father. (Mark viii. 38.)

To persons thus disposed, and to such only, I desire my words or writing to be addressed, deeming it labour lost to speak or write to any one who is resolved obstinately to remain where his lot was to fall, be it right or wrong. That there should be persons so careless of their greatest concern, is not only a matter of pity, but of wonder, that their judicious instructors should teach them to think (and act accordingly) persuading them that it is a mortal sin to admit of any doubt in their belief; that they must neither hear nor read any arguments against it; or, if they happen to do, it must be with resolution not to yield or consent to them, be they ever so demonstrative or evident: which is really to divest men of rationality, and make Religion a matter of chance, not of council or free election; and so undeserving of praise or reward. They allow to others whom they would gain to their party the use of their reason, and liberty to hear and examine arguments proposed to them; otherwise why should they go about to convert them? How then comes their own flock to be excepted from the use of this privilege, allowed to the rest of human kind?

They wonder that I, by so many years learning and teaching philosophy and divinity, in several famous colleges of Spain, should not find out until now, on which side the truth of Catholic Religion did stand. Which is to wonder that I could judge

better of a debate after hearing both parties, than when I was hearing only one side;—to wonder that by ten years of more study I should learn more: which will appear yet a more unreasonable wonder, if you consider what *St. Luke* relates of Jesus Christ the Son of God, though of infinite wisdom, that as man he seemed to grow more wise by age. And shall we disdain to grow more wise with more time, and with more light sent from God?

They object to me that I am the first of my family who has become Protestant: and so was St. Paul the first of his that became Christian. If I am now in the right, as I am fully satisfied that I am, I heartily wish that my kinsmen, according to the ffesh, would follow my example, in examining the truth and adhering to it.

They tell me I was unkind and hard hearted in forsaking my friends and kindred, in discomforting and offending many noble families, at home and abroad, from whom I have received singular demonstrations of love and honour. None is more sensible of the hardship of that case than myself. To die effectively in defence of truth never appeared to me so harsh as to be alienated from my friends, and to see their love turned into hatred; but all that, though heavy, I thought more tolerable than God's anger, which I was to draw upon me by working against my conscience.

They say that I lost my wits; and well may they say it, if for worldly respects I had embraced this resolution; but if for superior motives of pleasing God, and securing eternal happiness upon sufficient ground, I might expect they should rather take it for the greatest show of wisdom I could give. The trial will be to examine the reasons which I give for my resolution, in the ensuing discourse, by public writing, that indifferent persons may judge which of us speaks more sense. *That* I heartily desire to see, provided it be in a modest and serious way, with plain and solid reasons grounded upon the word of God, as becomes Christians and learned men to speak, and will be suited for clearing the truth—shewing wherein my reasons against their tenets, examined in this discourse, are deficient; or what other reasons they have for them of more strength, and to await my answer to them. To such replies I will listen willingly, and answer seriously, with resolution to honour, and acknowledge

truth wheresoever I find it. If they think that I am in an error, and pretend to win me out of it, this is the way, and not by promises, menaces, or calumnies,* with all which I was assaulted. To those who came with promises, I gave all signs of perfect indignation; to the menaces I answered with Susannah—"*It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.*" (Hist. of Susannah, v. 23.)

The calumnies are so rude, and apparently false, that I need not wish more harm to their forgers, than that they might be known. Such as to say—that after resolving to embrace the communion of the Church of *England*, I went about to my friends in the county of *Tipperary*, and collected a great sum of money to go over the seas, and then came with it this other way. The untruth of this base obloquy, I made evident after diligent enquiry, as is well known to the most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, and to several other persons of quality.

And being so averse to such proceeding, I passed by the houses of my chief friends and kinsmen in that country, without taking leave of them, fearing that they would offer me any money for my voyage (then intended for *England* as I have declared to some). I only entered very few houses, where I had some concerns to dispose of, and where, by good luck, no money was given or offered to me.

* "You even might have made some candid allowance for the workings of nature, and have excused some little tendency to a peevish moment had you reflected that when a person who formerly had your esteem is suddenly become the object of your enmity—when he is addressed by captious and taunting letters even from the infernal regions—when his actions are severely scrutinized, and the purity of his motives questioned—when his character is traduced, and the seeds of discord are scattered even amongst his own domestics—when he sees himself deprived of the blessing and affections of a tender mother; the regard and friendship of a numerous acquaintance—when even dark surmises are spread abroad to deprive him, if possible, of the benevolence and estimation of his new connexions * * * * * the natural feelings will prompt at least a transient sentiment of fretful retaliation. All this, sir, have I suffered from *individuals* against whom I never harboured an unfriendly thought—and if I do not utterly '*despise*' such men as these, and think their '*religion vain*,' it is because I rather wish to impute their unchristian conduct to the prejudices of a mistaken zeal than to any wilful prevarication or malevolence." *A Letter to Rev. J. Berington. from* Rev. J. Hawkins, Worcester, 1788, p. 193.

How much the above resembles the narrative and personal statements of Casaubon! see the last note on part 1, of *Catholic Faith*, &c.

Of the like condition is the report spread here in *Dublin*, that at the making my Declaration in the Church of St. John, at *Cashel*, before the most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of that city, and the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Waterford, and a very great congregation, I was struck dumb, and could not speak a word; and that, after going into the street, I fell dead suddenly. It were both tedious and ridiculous to mention all the fables which they coin daily, forging things certainly so far from my thoughts, and contrary to my inclination as to put my hand into the fire would be.

I could not but expect this kind of proceeding from them, knowing how much their writers of greatest repute encourage them to it, saying—"*It is lawful for the Priest or religious man, to kill any who would offer to divulge grave faults of himself or of his religion:*" and, which to me seems no less cruel, "*that it is not a grievous sin to raise false testimonies against him that would blemish one's honour, to bereave him of credit.*" If they allow this kind of defence for the honour of every individual, what may I expect they will suggest in order to destroy, or defame one who, they suspect, may diminish with his opposition the credit of their whole religion? I abstain, at present, from quoting the authors* of this doctrine, not willing to defame the teachers of such infamous tenets, until farther occasion may make it necessary to show how opposite they are to the law of God and the doctrine of Christ. This kind of defence is a great discredit to their cause; truth needs not such weapons to be drawn for it. David saith, that "God needeth not our goods"—*Deus meus es, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.* (Psalm xvi. 2.) And if he needs not our goods, surely he needeth not our evil. He who uses these means, shews clearly it is not for God that he is acting, for God refuses all such ways; "*Will you speak wickedly for God,* (saith holy Job xiii. 7.) *and talk deceitfully for him?*" Certainly none of his true followers will do so. It is not the way which Christ and his Apostles pointed out to us by which to propagate their doctrine.

Several persons, who pretend to desire my safety, were employed to forewarn me that I should not speak in prejudice of the party

* The maxims of the Jesuits are here alluded to. See Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, No. 15, on Calumny.

which I forsook, in terms that might seem a threatening, if I did not take that advice. If they require that I should not raise or blazon the faults of particular persons or societies, I am myself totally inclined and fully resolved to observe that rule. But if they expect that I should not justify my departure from the Romish Communion, by declaring the exceptions which I took against their erroneous tenets which I could not with approbation of my conscience embrace—it is a cruel, unjust demand; and as much as to say—I ought not to defend truth and my credit according to the law of God and nature, but permit them to strike at both without reply; to which I cannot consent.

And whereas I understand that there are malicious glosses made upon my Declaration, falsifying the words of it, to build cavils upon others substituted by themselves, for discovery of that imposture and manifestation of truth, a true copy of the said Declaration, as I delivered it in the Church of St. John at *Cashel*, is hereto annexed; the following discourse being a fuller explication of what is there said in general. And that malice may confide less in its contrivances, thinking that they will not be discovered and confuted, I will let it have here a view of its own weakness, by declaring one of its attempts through the foresaid Declaration.

Among other trials made of my constancy in my resolutions taken, was a letter written to me in the month of June last, wherein I was advertised, that in my Declaration I acknowledged that some years past, I was intending *and resolving to forsake the* Romish *Communion and adhere to the Church of* England; contrary to which resolution were extant writings of mine, in those times, approving and defending the Roman Church. I desire the impartial reader to peruse carefully the Declaration, and see whether in it he finds mention of *a resolution, made some years ago, of forsaking the Roman Church;* and he shall only find, that some years ago I doubted of the truth of some articles of that Church; but no word of a resolution made of separating from it, as truly I never made it until the first day of last May; and no man living is able to say with truth that he saw any expression of mine by word or writing, concerning such a resolution, until that day. So this foundation of that gloss being thus evidently falsified, all the breed of that great pregnancy comes to

be, that writings of mine are extant, wherein in times past I defended the *Roman* Church—a singular discovery! As if my name were not to be seen enrolled for several years in the registry or public books of the University of *Salamanca* as Professor of Controversies in one of the Colleges; and as if, members of that University and my auditors, being composed of *Spanish*, *French*, and *Irish*, my dictates were not in many hands, both in this country and abroad! as if I were not one of the most frequent and earnest disputers in favour of the *Romish* Church, since I came to this land! This being generally known, and myself confessing it with repentance for my unfortunate error therein, what purchase do they intend to make with this acute discovery? Of one I may probably assure them, that the dispassionate will judge them unworthy of credit in matters less clear, when they pretend to blind myself and all the country, by making us believe, that in my Declaration, extant in so many hands as here published, *I ever acknowledged that for some years I intended and was resolved to desert the* Roman *and adhere to the* Protestant *Church;* whereas therein is only said, that some years ago I doubted of the truth of some *Romish* articles, but delayed to give assent against them. And any good judgment may see, that to *doubt* of the truth of *some* articles may be far enough from concluding upon the untruth of them; and even this latter may be yet farther from a resolving upon a total breach, and a separation from a Church.

Herein we see passion blinded, so as not to be sensible of shame in telling palpable untruths; weakness is no less discovered in pretending to discredit me, by asserting that I did in former years approve and defend the *Roman* Church. With this note, St. Paul may be branded for being zealous one time of the synagogue and opposing the Gospel. They should remember that I am living now in a congregation allowed to read the Scriptures, and not ignorant of the gracious word of God delivered by the Prophet Ezekiel, "*If the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live; he shall not die.* ALL HIS TRANSGRESSIONS THAT HE HATH COMMITTED, THEY SHALL NOT BE MENTIONED UNTO HIM." If the godly people, with whom I converse, make any mention of my former errors, it is to rejoice

at my conversion from them; as "*there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.*"

To this shot, by way of menace, was adjoined another from the same hand, pointing at my intention: for they *do not think it robbery to make themselves equal to God** in searching hearts, and discerning intentions. They object to me, that if my intention was to be certified of truth, as I profess, I should have consulted in my doubts with some of my brethren about me. To which I answer; *first*, that I could not judge any of my brethren living about me more fit to resolve me upon these points than *Suarez*, Bellarmine, Becan, Stapleton, and others, the most learned defenders of the *Roman* Church, with whom I was always very much conversant; I would not judge any of those mentioned, so vain as to pretend he could give me *more* satisfaction than the writings of those great doctors could afford. *Secondly*, I say, that to try their skill, I related very often, to the best understanders about me, my several encounters with learned Protestants,—their objections and my answers; and I never yet met with any that would tell me, I did not answer right, or that I needed a supply from him to do it. My learned opposers were wont to say, that a man so long time exercised in school debates, could hardly want an answer to argument; but that they suspected I was not myself satisfied: and their suspicion therein was not erroneous. I could continue further, giving answer to *others;* but the serious proposals of *my own* judgment in the presence of God, in favour of his truth, I could not resist, and to them I yielded.†

* Phil. ii. 6.

† Dr. Sall might continue in the words of another convert to the Church of England—

"Neither my writings, nor my conduct, have ever been modelled to obtain the suffrage of the party zealot of any description. Upon this account I have never descended to calumny or misrepresentation. I have neither had recourse to antiquated legends, nor imputed tenets; nor have I appealed for your faith, to a few obscure individuals of your society, whom ignorance or enthusiasm might have misled. But I trusted for your opinions to the concurrent testimony of your most esteemed divines; and for your discipline, to the general practice of your Church—I knew not better vouchers."—Hawkins' *Letter to the Rev. J. Berington*, p. 13.

"You will tell me that their arguments [of Chamier, Aubertin, Claude, &c.] have all been answered; and so they have; for a determined Controvertist will always offer some reply to the most conclusive reasonings. *But between*

I say, thirdly, that many days before my Declaration for the Protestant Church, I signified, by letter and message, to such as I thought fit to divulge it, of the *Romish* clergy and nobility, that although I was forced to come under the protection of the most Reverend Lord Archbishop of *Cashel*, to avoid the popular fury raised against me, yet I would not declare against communion with the *Roman* Church, while any hopes appeared of being satisfied in the exceptions which I took against the present practice of that Church; and inasmuch as they had among them my writings, containing the said exceptions (which in substance are those contained in the ensuing discourse) so long time as might suffice to have copies of it, I desired any who would pretend to resolve me upon those exceptions should appear; and that I would give a willing and dispassionate hearing to his reasons. But none appeared for that purpose, nor signified to have a mind to do it. Neither indeed had I reason to hope that any of them could give me satisfaction, having so long time, and very carefully, studied the reasons given by the most learned defenders of their cause, and found no satisfaction in them; and the more so, because when my paper came to their hands, containing the exceptions which I took against the *Romish* tenets (but without any mention of separation) instead of a charitable conference with myself, they stirred the people to fury against me, saying, I was already made minister, and was to preach at the Protestant Church at Cashel the Sunday following: which, being a fiction of their own, I told it was so in a nobleman's house where I had notice of that report, without any promise made (much less an oath) that I should never become a Protestant; which was one of the very false impostures framed against me,

*answering, and confuting, the distance is immense.* I have seen your *Bellarmine*, Arnauld, Nicole, Pouget, Scheffmaker, Wallenburg, Bossuet, Challoner, and others, in whose authority your people most confide; and have been astonished at their prejudices, and the weakness of their reasonings. These also you have read; and their abuse of Scripture and their Fathers has not escaped you. But as you judged their conclusions right, you probably may have thought that it little mattered from what kind of syllogism they deduced them."—*Ibid*, p. 19.

On the *other* side, Mr. Hawkins expresses his surprise that Berington should stoop so low—as to bespeak the suffrage of the populace, (p. 17.) for though this is an established plan with vulgar priests—to use the mob, if needful, against a successful antagonist—Mr. B—— did, and should have known better.

without fear of God or shame to be found in untruths. For certainly I neither said that, nor had any other question put to me that would occasion the saying of it.

But those stories so enraged the people, that from worthy persons who tendered my safety, I had notices given to me of menaces made to destroy me, or convey me where I could not appear speaking against the *Romish* party. As to the former, truly I could hardly believe that christians, countrymen, and kinsmen,* whom I served, and never offended, and from whom I had many tokens of love and honour, should intend to destroy me for following the dictates of my conscience; nor that passion should so blind them, that being under a government dissatisfied with their tenets, they should not be contented with the gracious toleration given to them, but must insult with violence and malice

* This is the ordinary treatment, to which the *principles* of the Church of Rome—not individual feeling—and priestly prompting ever tend. Mr. Hawkins, another adherent to the Church of England, observes in his Letter to Rev. J. Berington, before cited:—"You told me some years back, when first apprised of my '*desertion*,' as you now term it, that the step I had taken should never make me forfeit your esteem. Have you really kept up to this friendly assurance? Do you thus *reflect* on all whom you esteem and love? or wherefore do you so ungenerously abjure in public those sentiments which, in private, you frequently have avowed both to myself and others?

"The '*romantic notions*' to which you allude, were chiefly indulged with respect to my own family. From these, indeed, beloved, as once I was, I might have looked with reason for a different treatment. But, irreproachable as my conduct has been in their regard, the whole of their behaviour has been unnatural and cruel."—*Defence of Principles of the Reformation, in a Letter, &c.* (Worcester, 1788,) p. 15.

Another '*deserter*' says—"When I left the Church of Rome, a more total separation from former connexions could scarcely have been effected by death."—*Godkin's Guide from the Church of Rome to the Church of Christ*, p. 140.

Dr. Wolff has given us a similar instance, in his last Journal, evincing the genuine effect 'every where and in all ages,' of the principles of the Church of Rome. "I met at Dublin with Father Taylor, my former fellow-pupil and class-mate in the College of the Propaganda at Rome. He came up to me, and asked me whether I had now joined the Protestants? I replied, 'Yes.' He then looked at me very coolly, and said, 'I understand it all,' and turned away from me. I was really surprised at the change in that man, for when at Rome he displayed most liberal sentiments regarding the Protestants, and frequently took my part when I had discussions with the Italian Priests."—Dr. Wolff's *Journal, in a series of Letters to Sir Thos. Baring*, (London, 1839,) p. 9.

Many such instances might be adduced, to shew the spirit which an obedience to the dictates of conscience and truth is sure to arouse in the breasts of Romanists against such as quit that Apostacy.

such as, following the light of their conscience, embrace the Religion established by the law and government which God has put over them.

As I heartily wish and tender their welfare, I earnestly desire they may avoid this foul way of proceeding, withdraw their silly rythmers, scowlds, and forgers of calumnies, and employ their good wits in examining soberly and seriously for the glory of God, the manifestation of the truth, and edification of the people, the points which I handle in this discourse; and in shewing wherein my arguments against their tenets are defective; or what arguments they consider of the most strength for them, and that with authority of the undoubted canonical Scripture, clear reasons grounded upon it, or practice uniform of the Primitive Church. Not by hyperbolical expressions of some one or more of ancient authors, rhetorical flourishes and tropical applications of Scripture, drawing them from their direct genuine meaning to others different by the help of some figure—at which rate of disputing, the Alcoran of Mahomet and the Talmud of the Jews may be defended as plainly as the Council of Trent.

The God of Peace, and his Son Jesus, who bequeathed it for inheritance to his Disciples, make us appear to be of them, living in peace and charity together in this life, that so we may join to praise him in life everlasting. Amen.

## Mr. Andrew Sall's *Declaration, made in the Church of St. John, in the city of Cashel, the 4th Sunday after Easter, May 17th,* [1674]*; present the most Reverend* Thomas, *Lord Archbishop of Cashel; and the Right Reverend* Hugh, *Lord Bishop of Waterford.*

Whereas I, Andrew Sall, have been born and bred in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, followed my course of philosophy and divinity in Colleges of the Order of Jesus in Spain, and was employed in teaching of the said faculties many years, I acknowledge, that since, by occasion of this function, I applied myself to a stricter enquiry and examining of matters, and by frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, Fathers, Councils, and Histories of the Church, my knowledge was furthered and my judgment ripened, I began to doubt of the truth of several articles, introduced by the use and authority of the Roman Church, repugnant to human reason, and not warranted by Divine Writ, as Transubstantiation, Indulgences, Purgatory, Worship of Images, &c.; yet smothered my scruples, while I was in *Spain*, partly fearing the severity of that country against opposers of their tenets, partly amused with a supposition, that the Church and Pope of Rome were infallible in their Decrees touching faith, and so may stand with security to their declarations. But having arrived to this country, disputed often and closely of Religion with several persons eminent in learning and integrity, but principally with the most Reverend Father in God (and mine truly in Christ) his Grace, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Cashel present, who mindful of the duty of a good pastor, did procure to bring into his fold this straying sheep, with an unspeakable constancy, and indefatigable charity, suffering for six years of continual battery my obstinate resistance, till at last, by means of his solid doctrine, and of the example of his pious and upright life, (to the glory of God be I permitted to say thus much here) the Lord was pleased to give me a more clear sight of the errors I

was in; yet a full assent I delayed to give, partly fearing that the weakness I felt might be of my capacity, rather than of the cause I maintained, partly frightened with the confusions and dangers which I conceived might wait upon my deserting of the *Romish* communion, and so betook myself to a most diligent study of the case, leaving no stone unmoved to quiet the trouble of my conscience, reading with indifferent eyes the best writers on both sides, and though I heartily wished to find the cause I hitherto maintained, justified; (for not to run into the terrible inconveniences, which human considerations represented to me in a change;) yet assisted by Divine grace, and taking for rule of my actions the service and will of God, and the interests of Eternity, I resolved constantly to adhere to the party, which with better ground would render me secure of this higher emolument; when, being in these considerations, there suddenly issued out our Sovereign Lord the King's Proclamation for banishing the *Roman* clergy, wherewith I saw myself betwixt two extremities either to continue farther in the country with my ambiguities in disobedience to my Sovereign's commands, or to go into *Spain*, and there be forced to preach and practice doctrines that my conscience did not approve of; and for a speedy resolution, after earnest prayer to God for the assistance of his Divine light in so weighty a matter, I penned down, for better consideration, the reasons I heard, read, and conceived, against the *Romish* tenets controverted. I also carefully perused, and seriously reflected upon the XXXIX Articles, Canons, and Liturgy of the Church of England; and all well considered I concluded the way of the Church of *England* to be safer for my salvation, than that of the *Roman* Church. Wherefore I resolved to declare, as I do hereby seriously and in my heart, without any equivocation or mental reservation, in the presence of God and of this congregation, declare, that I do give my full and free assent to the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, as holy and wise, and grounded upon the infallible word of God; acknowledging the *Romish* tenets against them, to be false and superstitious; especially that of Transubstantiation, as enforcing upon Christians a belief of monstrous miracles, repugnant to human reason, and not grounded upon Divine testimony, nor necessary either for verifying Christ's words in the institution of this blessed sacrament, or

for the effects of it; not for verifying the words—whereas Christ saith in the like tenour, that he is *the true vine*, without real alteration in his person, or in the vine—not for the effects of the holy Sacrament, Christ being able to annex unto the receiving of bread and wine, what spiritual graces he pleaseth without alteration of the elements, as he doth afford the spiritual grace of regeneration in the waters of Baptism, without alteration in the substance of the water.

And lest an imagination of some temporal or sinister intention, in this my Declaration upon the present juncture, may hinder the spiritual benefit which souls may reap by it, I have grave testimonies to shew, and have already shewn them to my renowned Lord Archbishop, his Grace, which certify that I enjoyed in Spain (and may now enjoy with more advantage going thither, upon the account I was to go) such degree of honour and commodity as possibly I may not expect elsewhere; so as looking upon a voyage thither, continuing my former profession, nothing occurred to my mind but pleasure, applause, and honour; and turning my eyes upon my present resolution, mountains of crosses and dangers did affright me. But in these perplexities I have chosen rather to suffer crosses here with satisfaction of conscience, than to enjoy honours that other way, accompanied with the tortures of a checking conscience, and the unworthiness of a dissembling life.

Wherefore I humbly beseech your Grace, that I may be admitted into the communion of this Church, and that I may be absolved for my so long continuance in error, resisting the powerful calling of God; which granted, I hope by the grace of Almighty God, assisting me, that I shall never withdraw myself. For farther confirmation of all this, I have hereunto subscribed my name,

ANDREW SALL.

THE

# SERMON.

ST. MATTHEW XXIV. 15, 16, 17, 18.

*When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand :) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains; Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house; neither let him which is in the field turn back to take his clothes.*

On all occasions, I conceive it to be the duty of a preacher, to search diligently after the genuine and direct meaning of the word of God, which he takes in hand to expound; that grounding his discourses upon it, rather than upon private fancies, they may carry more weight for the benefit of souls. But when the very text warns us of this duty, and exhorts to the right understanding of itself (as ours at present does—*whoso readeth, let him understand)* then certainly we have a special obligation of searching carefully for the right sense of it. This I have endeavoured to do, and have found three several opinions, among ancient and modern interpreters, touching that *Abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place*, mentioned in our text. The *first* opinion, followed by St. Jerome, is, that by this abomination of desolation, may be understood the image of Cæsar, which Pilate set up in the temple of Jerusalem; or the statue of the Emperor Adrian, which he affirms to have stood in the most sacred place of the temple—the Holy of holies—to his own time; which to the people of God was most abominable, rendering the temple

desolate and void of divine praises—the faithful deserting the city and temple that they might not be partakers of the profane Idolatry practised in it; as our Saviour counsels in the words of our text. The *second* opinion, followed by very learned interpreters, and attributed to St. Chrysostom, is, that by this Abomination is understood the Roman army under Titus, coming to besiege Jerusalem, and ready to fill the city with their banners, bearing on them the image of Cæsar and his eagle, which to the Jews were abominable and profane. The *third* opinion, followed by the gloss interlineal, is, that the aforesaid words of our text relate to the times of Antichrist; when that *Man of sin* shall be revealed, *who shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every God;** *and who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God*, as St. Paul says, 2 Thess. ii. 4: at whose appearance, our Saviour exhorts the faithful to shun the place where they see it predominant.

Now these three opinions, though different in expressions, concur to the same purpose of our spiritual instruction, and will contribute to the right grounding of the points which I intend to raise upon our text to that end. The following words of our text, set forth the haste and diligence wherewith our Saviour would have the faithful to shun the place infected with that evil. The buildings of Judea had commonly plain roofs, to walk upon, as Gerson relates.† Now whoever should happen to be on such roofs, is counselled by our Saviour, not to stay for going by the ordinary way, nor to regard the ordering of his house; and that he who should be in the fields should not return to take his clothes: but that each should hasten his flight with all the speed he can, it being better to lose all else, than to lose his soul.

Our text being explained thus, the *first* point of my discourse upon it will be to justify the counsel of our Saviour—that if we should see any of those three abominations, declared by the three opinions related, Idolatry, Profane Violence, or Antichristian Impiety, predominant in any Church or congregation, we are to shun it with all speed; without regarding ceremonies or compliances with men, or the loss of worldly interests or honour. The *second* is, to declare that I saw (and by what means I came

* 2 Thess. ii. 3; Dan. xi. 36. † Gerson. Tract. in Magnificat. p. 97

to see) all these three kinds of abominations practised in the Roman Church. The *third* shall be to conclude from these premises—that the resolution which I took, of withdrawing speedily from that Church, when I was convinced of such corruptions swaying in it, was just and necessary, and therefore undeserving so great an offence and scandal as is taken at it by the generality of my former brethren.

### *First point.*

As it is clear that heaven is of more value than a piece of the earth; everlasting glory than a short joy of this miserable mortal life; the favour and grace of God than that of men—so clear (and not needing tedious proof) is the first point proposed in our discourse—That if we should see a Church infected with corruptions inconsistent with the true worship and service of God, we are to quit it with all speed and diligence, not heeding men's discontents nor any earthly interest.

But why was our Saviour so earnest with his own disciples that they should quit the pleasures of Jerusalem, and the fertile fields of Judea, upon such an emergency, and flee to barren mountains? Might it not be expected from their constant faith and fervent piety, improved in the school of Christ, enriched with the heavenly dew of healthful doctrine daily dropping upon them from his divine lips, that, in the midst of the idolatry and profaneness of the Romans, they would preserve themselves pure and unspotted; as the fish in the sea without relishing the salt of it? Nay, further; may it not be expected that by their doctrine, and the example of their holy life, the sores of Jerusalem would be healed, and the inhabitants of it be reduced to a better life? No: of their amendment there was no hope, because their hearts were hardened as that of Pharaoh, and their disease incurable, which increased with the very remedies for it; their stomachs so corrupt, that they turned the most healthful food into poison; their minds were so perverse, that they abhorred their cure, and killed their physicians: so our Saviour declared of them in the chapter preceding that of our text—the xxiii. of St. Matthew; putting them in mind that their fathers before them did so—*themselves* did so then, and would do the same in the future.

The doleful words of our Saviour to this purpose are much to be remarked, (Mat. xxiii. 29. 31, 32.) *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites! * * * ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. * * * * Behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues; and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth,* &c. (34, 35.)—The people of Jerusalem being thus given over to a reprobate obstinacy, what hopes could our Saviour's disciples entertain of healing them?

Neither could they prudently hope to be safe themselves in so great and general a corruption. Isaiah thought it one and the same thing to live in a corrupt company, and be corrupted himself: *Woe is me,* said he, (vi. 5.) *for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips.* Whereupon St. Jerome writes, that the former part of the text was a declaration of the latter; and to say that he lived with a people of unclean lips was as much as to say that he was himself of unclean lips: *Hoc in peccati ac miseriæ parte ducit Propheta habitans in medio populi polluta labia habentis;** so powerful is the influence of bad company, that the best of men are apt to be spotted, if not corrupted with it! Even angels it seems may not be safe from the contagions of such neighbourhoods.

In the first chapter of Genesis is related, that God divided the light from the darkness: (v. 4.) By which words Rupert understands, how God separated the good angels from the bad; and enquiring further what may be the motive of this separation, he answers, that it was that the good angels might not be perverted by the company of the bad.† How? Are angels subject to such mutabilities? Is it not their nature to have liberty in their first election, but *that* once made, to adhere immoveably to the side they had chosen? So Divines teach commonly in schools.‡ But such is the power of bad company, that

* St. Hierom. Ep. 1, *ad Damasum.* † Rupert. lib. 1, *in Genes.* c. xiii.
‡ St. Thomas [Aquin.] 1 p. q. 64. art. 3,

it will cause even angels to forget their nature, and to be perverted with the perverse.

We have another fair shew of this verity in the tenth chapter of St. Luke, (v. 18) where our Saviour in testimony of his Divine power, tells, that *he beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.* And what singularity appears in that? Did not the angels and all the world see the same? Yea, says Rupert, but with fear and danger; only Christ the Son of God could behold that spectacle with security: *Solus iste videbat securus sui; angeli autem viderunt in magno terrore positi.** So strong and active is the venom of a bad example and scandalous company, that even those pure angelical spirits could not be secure from the contagion of it, in the opinion of this learned Father! only Christ could behold with safety the dismal fall of Satan—*solus iste videbat securus sui.* Trust not in your virtue; build no confidence in your good nature: bad company will corrupt virtue and pervert nature.

This fatal contagious influence of companies justifies the practice which I find in nations of censuring every one's temper by the company which he fancies. A *Spanish* proverb, reduced to English, says, *Tell me with whom thou walkest, and I will tell thee who thou art.* Ye noblemen, who tender your repute; ye Christians, who regard your welfare and salvation, take heed to what company you adhere! And this doctrine being so important for all, I will confirm it further with the famous case of that Prodigal Son set down in the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke: who having lavished away his substance with riotous living, in a foreign country, *joined himself to a citizen,* who employed him in feeding his swine; *and he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat;* vs. 15, 16. How so? That delicate youth, who loathed the plentiful fare of his father's house, now fancy the husks that swine did eat! Is that proper food for man, and such a man? No: but

* Rupert. lib. 1, *de victoria Verbi Dei*, c. 23.—Rupert of Duyts flourished about 1120. He was educated at Liege, in the Monastery of St. Lawrence, and became Abbot of Duyts in 1111. He was rather a large writer, and his works were collected and published in two folios, Paris, 1638. *Anon. Mellicensis de Scripp. Eccles.* §. 117, in Fabricii *Biblioth. Eccles.* p. 158; Clarke's *Succession of Sacred Literature*, vol. 2, p. 656. See also Allport's Davenant, vol. 1, p. 336.

the company of swine [associating with swine] made him put off his own nature, and wear theirs. *And when he came to himself;* so proceeds the text—What? Did he leave himself? Yes, says ingenious *Peter Chrysologus, à se migrat et transit in bestiam* —living with beasts, he left himself and turned beast.* That is the ordinary effect of bad company, to turn into its own condition, the nature of such as adhere to it. To presume the contrary is to pretend to a miracle, and to tempt God. It were indeed a miracle, and a singular one, that a person living in bad company, should not conform to it.—Our Saviour to confirm his doctrine with an uncontrolable miracle against the obstinate Jews, who condemned as sorceries his other miraculous works, got innocent children to blaze his glory in the temple of Jerusalem; according to the prophet David in the eighth Psalm: *Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.* This miracle wrought deeply upon the Jews, and confirmed them in the belief of the others preceding, as St. Matthew relates, (chap. xxi. 15, 16.) *And when the Chief Priests and Scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying,* HOSANNA TO THE SON OF DAVID! *they were sore displeased.* What made them take more notice of these innocent eulogies of the children, than of the other wonders which he had wrought? Euthymius,† glossing upon this passage, answers, that on other occasions they suspected Christ might have deluded their eyes with appearances of things not really existing; but that their own children bred by themselves, and living among them, should break out into eulogies of one whom they saw ever contemned and reviled by them, was a

* Chrysol. *Serm.* 2.—PETER CHRYSOLOGUS was bishop of Ravenna in 1433, his homilies were published at Cologne 1541, Paris, 1614. Clarke's *Succession of Sacred Literature*, vol. 2, p. 205.

† EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, a Monk of the order of St. Basil, at Constantinople, A.D. 1116, who by his superior talents became the favourite of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, at whose command he drew up *Panoplia Dogmatica Orthodoxæ Fidei.* It consisted chiefly of passages selected from the writings of the ancient Greek Fathers, on different points, in which heretics have departed from the Catholic Doctrine. It was printed in 8vo. Lugd. 1556, and again in Wallachia, in 1710; he was also the author of some other Theological Works, particularly comments on the Psalms and the four Evangelists. See Vossius and Miræi *Biblioth.*

miracle they knew not how to control! that ears continually beaten with calumnies and opprobrium against Christ should entertain any favourable opinion of him, was a wonder which malice and envy itself could not suspect! So strange is it that any should not act according to the company in which he lives—a wonder passing all wonders! Such is the influence which bad company has over minds adhering to it.

And herewith I conclude the first point of my discourse; how justly our Saviour in the words of our text, was so earnest in exhorting his disciples to shun the abominations of Jerusalem, given over to corruption and reprobate obstinacy, that they might not be perverted by them; and that if we should see any of those three abominations, declared by the three opinions of interpreters —related in the opening of our text, that is to say, Idolatry, Cruelty, or Impiety, or all three—practised in a church or congregation, we are to shun it with all speed and diligence.

*Second part.*

Now I will proceed to the *second* point proposed of my discourse; which is, to declare how I saw, and by what means God was pleased to let me see, that all these three abominations are generally practised in the *Roman* Church, as it stands at present; to wit,

Idolatry in their manner of worship,

Cruelty in their conduct of souls, and

Antichristian impiety in extolling men above God:

that so my receding from the community of it may be justified as no more, nor other, than a dutiful obedience to the counsel of Christ, declared in our text.

But, before I enter into this point, I desire my judicious hearers not to conceive I am come hither to scold, or insult my former brethren of the Roman communion. I may not hate them without hating myself; my flesh and blood and dearest friends being among them: with tender compassion I lament their error. I could not in piety abandon the mother at whose breast I sucked the belief of a Christian, if, with tears or labour, I could hope to wash away the stains which corruption of time has cast upon her face once fair and glorious: but seeing her disease appears to be

both incurable and contagious, I was compelled to a divorce. Mean faults could not afford a just cause to it; they must be grievous ones, which I cannot declare without giving them their own names—the same which our text and the declaration of it puts into my mouth, for just cause of the like separation—Idolatry, Cruelty, Impiety. How I came to perceive the present practice of the Roman Church to be guilty of these faults, I will endeavour to set forth with the brevity and sincerity which duty requires, being to speak in so illustrious an auditory.

God's Providence leading me in my younger years to the schools of the greatest credit in *Spain*, and disposing so that having completed in them my courses of Philosophy and Divinity, I should be employed many years in teaching the same faculties; the exercise of those reasoning sciences, joined with my own genius, not fit for *Pythagoras's* School (where *ipse dixit* was the rule, and knowledge must be taken upon the credit of the master) produced in me a habit of demanding reasons for the belief of doctrines proposed. This, assisted by frequent reading of Holy Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and Histories of the Church, made me doubt of the truth of several tenets introduced by the use or authority of the *Roman* Church, repugnant (in my esteem) to common reason, and not warranted by divine testimony, so as to captivate my understanding to the belief of them. Of the truth of Holy Scripture, of the Apostles' creed, of that of Nice and Athanasius I never doubted. Therein I acknowledged the heavenly gift of faith received in the holy Sacrament of Baptism; and lifting my heart and eyes to heaven, gave thanks to God for this sovereign benefit, in those words of the Psalm, *Signatum est super nos lumen vultûs tui Domine:* (Psalm iv. 5.) *Thou hast lifted upon us, O Lord, and printed in our hearts the light of thy countenance.* Without which, certainly, an understanding accustomed to search exactly into the nature of things, their essential constitution, the proportion of causes with effects, and to measure by these rules the credibility of them, would never give so free and easy an assent to the ineffable Mysteries of Trinity and Unity in the Divine Nature; of the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ our Saviour; of the Descent of the Holy Ghost in tongues of fire upon the Apostles, and other mysteries contained in Holy Scripture and the Creeds.

On the other side, the reluctancy which I found in assenting to those tenets of the Roman Church, as opposite to other Christian congregations, was to me an occasion of suspecting that they might not be grounded upon Divine Institution. All my understanding was turmoiled while reflecting upon the prodigious doctrine of Transubstantiation; alone sufficient to affright rational believers from the *Romish* communion. By it we are required to believe that when the priest pronounces those few Latin words —*Hoc est corpus meum*, *This is my body*—meaning what he says, the substance of all the bread which he lays before him is destroyed in a moment, and instead of it our Saviour Jesus is placed under that figure of bread, personally and corporally. A wonder, though a daily one, yet far surpassing that other which once happened in the world, when God, hearkening to the voice of Joshua, made the sun and moon stand till he completed his victory against the army invading Gibeon.* And to support this wonder, a great number of others most stupendous are chained to it; as *first*, that those accidents of white and round, remaining, subsist without any substance to rest upon—a thing repugnant to their nature and to all human understanding. *Secondly*, that the same accidents being converted either into vermin by corruption, or into flesh and blood by nutrition, in him who eats them, should produce a substance; which is to give what they have not—a thing surpassing all kind of power! *Thirdly*, that a proper well-proportioned body, as that of our Saviour, glorious in heaven, must come down and be fitted to every wafer, and to every the least crumb of them! *Fourthly*, that the same body must lie, sit, or stand, or however, be in a hundred thousand places at the same time! All these monstrous miracles, and more, we must swallow, to support that mystery, in spite of all reason to the contrary, without any pertinent text of Scripture to ground it upon, (nay, *many* texts opposing it, as we shall hereafter shew) and no necessity urging to it, either for verifying the words of our Saviour in the institution of this blessed sacrament, or for the effect of it; not for verifying the words, seeing that our Saviour in the same tenor said, (John xv. 1,) *I am the true vine*, without any alteration either in his person or

* Joshua x. 12.

in the vine; and St. Paul says of his Corinthians (2 Epist. xii. 27) *Ye are the body of Christ*, yet meaning no conversion of substance—Nor for the effects of the sacrament; Christ being able to convey, with the worthy receiving of bread and wine, what spiritual graces he pleases, without any substantial alteration in the elements; as in the waters of baptism, he affords the sovereign grace of regeneration, without any alteration in the substance of the water.

The like repugnance I felt in believing their prodigious doctrine of Indulgences, Purgatory, Worship of Saints and Images, and other points controverted with them; but smothered my doubts while in *Spain*—partly fearing the severity of that country in proceeding against opposers of their doctrine; partly amused with the supposition, that the Pope and Church of Rome were infallible in their decrees touching matters of faith, and that so I might stand with security upon their declarations; and finally persuaded by my Catechists that it was a mortal sin to admit willingly even a doubt in matters of faith—a terrible yoke, reaching to the thoughts of the heart, but conducing to their purpose of keeping in their people by right or wrong. With these generalities I quieted in some sort my mind, while I could see none who would seriously oppose these tenets, nor acquaint themselves with the arguments against them, but by relation of Romish writers, framing them so as they might better receive their objections. For though by occasion of my employment of teaching controversies in the University of *Salamanca* for some years, I had a license from the Inquisitor General of Spain to read prohibited books, yet the prohibition was so severe that I could never meet with any book of their opposers.

But Divine Providence leading me to this country, I met with persons of excellent wisdom and great integrity, who in close and serious disputes gave me a different light and help to find out the truth. The chiefest of all was the most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Archbishop of *Cashel*, who at his coming to that See,* having notice of me, and pitying that I should continue in errors, sought carefully after me; and finding me out with admirable zeal and great dexterity, dictated by [true]

* See the Memoir for A. Wood's account of the Archbishop.

Christian charity, set upon me with solid arguments of Holy Scripture, Councils, Fathers, and Histories, and gave me to view several learned authors representing the errors of the Roman Church in all the points controverted; to which I listened the more willingly, because I saw a vein of charity and zeal for union among Christians, run through all his discourses, acknowledging the Church of Rome to be a part of the Catholic Church, though not *the* Catholic Church (as they speak, excluding other Christian Congregations from that honourable title) reverencing what in them was good—as the belief of Scripture and Christian Creeds; the practice of devotion and piety; and only reproving the superstructures of erroneous practices introduced contrary to the institution of Christ and stile of the Primitive Church; entertaining a charitable hope of the salvation of many of them, who went on with simplicity of heart and blameless ignorance of the errors in which they were bred.

All which, sympathizing with my own temper and dictates in relation to all Christian congregations, begat in my mind a special respect and regard to his reasons. I replied to them with sincerity and liberty, according to the principles in which I was instructed. Where a clear text or pressing reason was deficient, I appealed, as to a sanctuary, to the Infallibility of the Church—that in things surpassing comprehension, we were to surrender our understandings to the obedience of faith proposed to us by the Church of God.

To secure this refuge and have it in a readiness, I framed to myself, and proposed to his Grace, this kind of demonstration: that by natural evidences I was convinced there was a God of infinite goodness, wisdom, and power; that to these attributes it belonged that he should provide for mankind means for obtaining their end of everlasting bliss; that by revealed oracles, common to all Christians, I believed he sent down his Son Jesus Christ for this purpose, in human nature, and to shew by his example and doctrine a sure way to eternal happiness: and, providing not only for the age he lived in, but for all times to come, he left upon earth a Church furnished with convenient laws for the aforesaid end. And whereas he foretold himself, that in future times there should arise heresies and controversies, (as it is in the nature of men) it became his wisdom and goodness to appoint a visible

Judge, with infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost, to determine all controversies which might arise; which Judge was no other than the Pope of *Rome*, successor of St. Peter; by whose definitions therefore we ought to stand, and so quiet our minds.

The former part of this demonstration had a grateful acceptance with his Grace, as being rationally and christianly principled, and nothing averse to piety; till coming to the latter proposition, *That it became the wisdom and goodness of Christ to appoint a visible Judge infallible upon earth to determine controversies*— he replied mildly, We had reason to go warily in censuring the wisdom and goodness of God, if this or that thing seeming to us expedient, were not done in the government of the world; for who can pretend to know *the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God*, to *search into his judgments and find them out?* (Rom. xi. 32.)

This most rational advertisement took deep root in my heart, ever thirsty of reason and open to receive it; neither did the modesty of the proposer diminish, but rather augment the weight of it. It was in truth the first shock that touched me to the quick; striking at the very root of that engine of Infallibility upon which I was leaning. Reflecting upon the matter in my solitudes, I perceived the weakness of the ground upon which I built. I saw that in like manner we may say—It belongs to the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, not to permit that his holy law should be transgressed by vile creatures, and his *Supreme* dread Majesty offended by despicable vermin; nor that pastors of souls (especially the *Roman* Pope, deemed a Vice-God upon earth) should fall into errors, and scandalize, with wicked life, the people: and, alas! it is but too well known he permits this. Shall we therefore waver in the opinion of his goodness, power, and wisdom? God forbid. Why then should we think it a failure in his Providence, or goodness, if, besides Holy Scriptures, abounding in all light and heavenly doctrine to such as are not wilfully blind, he did not appoint some visible Judge universal for our direction; St. Paul saying, that the *Holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works;* 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

That foundation alleging the *necessity* of a Judge visible,

universal, and infallible, being thus weakened, I proceed to examine by what right the Pope or Church of *Rome* could pretend to such infallibility—the support of all their incredible doctrine. And first, the very inconstancy of their pretence to the privilege, and the great dissension of their authors in asserting it, was to me a main reason for suspecting the truth of all, and a conclusive argument that they cannot be certain of having it. For some * will have the Pope himself alone, as Pope, or as teaching from his chair to have this infallibility of doctrine. Others will not allow it him, but in conjunction with a Council, either general or particular, of Cardinals and Divines. Others only attribute it to him in a General Council. Others neither separately nor conjointly, and will only allow the Church Universal to be infallible. And, finally, others of the most learned † affirm even the Church Universal to be capable of a material error, by probable ignorance, though not of a formal and heretical one; which, in substance, is to allow the Church no more infallibility than Origen, Tertullian, or any other particular true Christian believer has, though subject to errors; (which opinion, if extended to make the Universal Church fallible even in points essential to salvation, is false.) And upon so great an uncertainty of their infallibility, they will have us to build a certain infallible belief of all they please to teach us; which is to build a house, incapable of falling, upon a sandy and ruinous foundation.

Now for their grounds for this pretended Infallibility; what is their warrant for it? Divine Scripture, they say; for who but God could confer such a privilege? And what warrant have they for believing the Scripture, saying so, to be divine and infallible? The infallible testimony of the Church, say they again—their own *Roman* Church they mean. So they believe the Scripture is infallible, because the Roman Church testifies it; and this Church to be infallible, because the Scripture's testimony is in its favour—a circle in reasoning which Logicians would hiss out of their schools. Neither may Becan's‡ escape avail him,

* *Rom. Pont.*

† S. Thom.; Turrecremata; Alphonsus a Castro; *apud Can. de loc. com.* lib. 4, cap. 4, conclus. 2.

‡ BECAN (Martin) a learned Jesuit, [of Brabant] born in 1563, and died in 1624. His works, which are mostly controversial, and written to support the

that they are dealing with Christians, who believe the Scripture; for no Christian, but such as they will first blind, can believe that there is any Scripture favouring their case in this particular, without clipping or corrupting it to serve their purpose; as, for example, their main pillar for this Infallibility is grounded upon that passage in the fourteenth chapter of St. John, *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth;* (John xiv. 16, 17.) Their own disciples, who ordinarily know no more of Scripture than what they are pleased to shew to them for their several purposes, may think that text to be pertinent for their pretensions. But he who will take the liberty to read the context before and after will clearly find out, that the very same text destroys their whole design, and takes away all certainty of the Holy Ghost's assistance for rendering their Decrees infallible. The text restored to its integrity runs thus, in their own Bible: *If ye love me, keep my commandments, and I will ask my Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever; Even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive.** By the first words you may see this to be a conditional promise, limited to such as love God and keep his commandments; by the latter words you see worldly and sinful men expressly excluded from receiving that gracious assistance of the Spirit of Truth: therefore to be sure that the Pope and his Council have the assistance of the Spirit of Truth, we must be sure that they *love God and keep his commandments.* But of this we cannot have security; their own histories relating, and the world knowing enormous vices in them.

What they allege out of St. Paul writing to Timothy, (1 Epis. iii. 15,) *that the Church is the pillar and ground of truth,* we freely admit as due to the Universal Church, not to any one particular; but less to one found guilty of so many and great

power of the Pope against King James I., were published in 2 vols. fol. Mentz. 1630; but he pushed the doctrine of the Papal authority so far, that he fell under the censure of Paul V. and his works were condemned by the Parliament of Paris to be burnt. Crabbe's *Histor. Dict.*

* Mundus, id est, remanens amator mundi, cum quo nunquam est amor Dei. *Gloss. interlin.*—Non habent spirituales oculos quibus Spiritum Sanctum videant mundi amatores. *Glossa ordinaria.*

errors, such as the *Romish* is; whose ambition in claiming and appropriating to itself all the commendations delivered of the Church *Universal* is no less reprehensible, than as if the Scribes and Pharisees who persecuted our Saviour should appropriate to their Synagogue all the praises given to *Moses* and *Aaron*. Would you not wonder that their chief champion, Bellarmine, should bring for proof of the Pope's Infallibility,* that in the old law God commanded† two Hebrew words, or two stones, signifying *doctrine* and *truth*, to be put in the breast-plate of the High-priest? And what then? Will you infer thence more Infallibility in the Pope, than in those High-priests whom you bring for example? Will you make them all infallible, even Caiaphas?‡ If we will speak in earnest, I should suppose these words, so inserted, were an advertisement to the High-priest, that he was to exercise doctrine and truth in a manner becoming his station. The same advertisement I allow the Pope should have; and I wish he would always act accordingly. This is the utmost that *that* text can afford. And of the same weight are the other texts which they bring, to assure us of the Infallibility pretended upon which to build all our belief.

This main foundation of the Romish Church being thus weakened, I began with more liberty to pry into and examine exactly, the mysteries and tenets of both parties, *Protestant* and *Romish*. To which purpose, if I had no other notice of the Protestant cause than that afforded by Popish writers and informers (as long time I had not) I should have been for ever kept from uniting with it. Here I perceived a great insincerity of dealing in the proceeding of *Romanists;* who to make their adversaries odious, gathered up out of the writings of some particular person, a heap of some extravagant doctrines, adding thereto human frailties in their private lives (whether true or false I will not debate now) but certainly such as any wise and modest Protestant would abhor, no less than any of themselves; and if he were to repay them in the like coin, he

* Bellarm. *de Sum. Pont.* lib. 4. cap. 3, § *quarto, probatur.*

† Exod. xx.

‡ Dr. Sall was not aware perhaps, that the decision of Caiaphas *has* been considered, under certain circumstances, perhaps positively, to be just.—See Jewell's *Defence of the Apology*, ch. 6, div. 3. p. 547.

may by their own mouths do it superabundantly.* For two certain families or orders of them, reputed the most learned and grave of all, (but very opposite in doctrine) passing from the gravity of scholastic disputes to the scurrility of infamatory libels, have published of late such damnable doctrines and hideous vices, the one of the other, as any humane, and still more Christian heart, would tremble to hear. Which, lest I should defile this Christian place, or your ears, or my own mouth, I will not relate now. But I thought it fit to intimate to them, that this foul and killing armour of their own against themselves is in a readiness, if our necessary defence should require to draw it; but such a necessity not intervening, I think it unbecoming an evangelical preacher to stir up that pool; and indeed it is no effective way to carry conviction to serious minds upon so weighty a matter, it being certain that, in all congregations of men, there are defects in particulars. The true and proper way (being to deal as becomes men of solid and serious temper) is, to examine those tenets wherein each party generally agrees with public uniform consent; which I have done.

And beginning with the Church of England, I find the eminent persons of it, by uniform consent of word and writing, to assert the sum of their faith and religion to be the word of God, contained in the undoubted canonical Scriptures;† besides which, and the plain indubitable consequence of it, they require nothing to be believed as matter of faith. What rule could be imagined more sacred and excellent than this, for the instruction of men in faith and good manners?

If you fancy Infallibility or Antiquity, what more infallible or ancient than the Eternal Word of God? If Sanctity and Wisdom, what can be imagined more holy and wise, than the counsels of Christ our Saviour, and the sentences of holy Prophets and Apostles? If the lustre of Miracles, what more admirable and certain, than those wrought by our Saviour, and his Prophets and Apostles, in confirmation of their doctrine? If universality, all true Christians agree in embracing and honouring Canonical Scripture.

Now as to the *Roman* Church, the tenets of it, as opposite to

* Instances are given to some extent in Baxter's *Key for Catholics*, &c. p. 366. Edit. 1839.

† See Arts. vi. and xx. of the Anglican Church.

the Protestant, shall be considered for the present to be reducible to these seven heads:—

1. The Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope.
2. The Mystery of Transubstantiation.
3. The Worship of Images.
4. The Praying to Saints and Angels.
5. The Half-communion denied to the Laity.
6. The use of Indulgencies and doctrine of Purgatory.
7. The celebrating of Public Divine Worship in a Language *generally* unknown to the people; and prohibiting to the generality the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

## 1. The Pope's Infallibility.

As to this *first*, we have already declared how ill-grounded their pretence to Infallibility is.* Now it remains to shew how heinous a crime it is to attribute it to the Pope or his Council. Their own Divines, with St. Thomas Aquinas,† agree in asserting that

* "If high pretences and large promises were the only things for which we ought to value any *Church*, there were none comparable to the *Church of Rome*. For there can be nothing imagined amiss in the Christian world, but if we believe the bills her *Factors* set up, she hath an infallible cure for it. If any inquire into the grounds of Religion, they tell us, that her testimony only can give them *Infallible certainty*; if any are afraid of mistaking in opinion, *they* have the only *Infallible* Judge of controversies to go to; if any complain of the rents and divisions of the Christian world, they have *Infallible Councils* either to prevent or heal them. Who then would not run into the bosom of such a Church as this, with whom there is nothing but what is *Infallible?* Who but Sceptics, Heretics, and Schismatics would keep out of her communion? for what is there men can desire more in a Church than she hath, where everything is *Infallible? Faith* is infallible, *Tradition* is infallible, the *Church* infallible, the *Pope* infallible, *General Councils* infallible; and what not? But who are there that more cheat and deceive the world than these *Mountebanks*, who pretend to the most *infallible* cures?" Bp. Stillingfleet's grounds *of the Protestant Religion*, pt. 3, chap. 1, §. 1.

Amidst all the most extraordinary trait in this assumption is the course of Logic by which the dogma is sustained. The Editor once heard a Rev. Gent. (a D.D. at that time and a *Professor of Theology* in a celebrated Popish College, but now an M.A. and Missionary Priest!) thus defend Infallibility (and which Syllogistic process it appears even Dr. Wiseman is fain to adopt, see his Lectures, no. ix.): —"*It is admitted*, said he, *that there is an Infallible Church; the Roman Catholic Church is the only Church which claims Infallibility; ergo*, SHE IS INFALLIBLE !!

† S. Thom. 22 qu. 13, art. 3; and Layman, a Jesuit also, lib. 4, tr. 10, c. 6.

of all sins Blasphemy is the greatest. The same Divines accord in saying it is blasphemy to attribute to any creature what is proper to God; for as God's attributes are indistinct from himself, to ascribe any of them to a creature, is to make such a creature God.

Now that Infallibility is one of God's chief attributes, incommunicable to any creature, the same St. Thomas teaches expressly (1 p. qu. 16, art. 8.); grounding his opinion upon those words of Psalm xxii. according to the Latin translation—*Quoniam diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum*,—that *verities are maimed among the children of men:* (Ps. xii. 1.) to which is consonant the English translation of the same text, that *the faith ful fail from among the children of men;* and more decisively the cxvth. Psalm declares that *all men are liars;* (v. 11.) Therefore the *Romanists* attributing infallibility of doctrine to their Pope are guilty of Blasphemy—the most heinous of all crimes; which is evidently deduced from premises of their own theology.

This heinous Blasphemy, of parallelling the Pope with God in the attribute of Infallibility, is raised to a higher degree in their practice of making him Supreme and Absolute Judge, and Arbiter of the law of God and his Holy Scripture. So as for the belief and practice of all, we must abide by his declaration, in such a degree that Bellarmine hesitates not to say, *If the Pope should command vices and prohibit virtues the Church would be obliged to believe vice to be good and virtue bad.** Nay, the Council of Constance professedly commands the Pope's decrees to be preferred to the institutions of Christ. Whereas, confessing that onr Saviour Christ *did* ordain the giving of the sacred communion under both kinds to the faithful people; and that the Apostles and Primitive Church *did* practise it so; notwithstanding, they command, that for the future it be not given to the laity, but under one kind:† proposing no other reason for it, than that the preceding Popes, and the Church governed by them, practised it so; though contrary to the practice of Christ and his Apostles. Whereby they extol the Pope to a degree superior to God himself in the government of the human race. If the laws of *England* were not to be understood or practised in *Ireland*, but according

* Bellarm. lib. 4. *de Rom, Pont.* c. 5. † Concil. Constant. Ses. 13.

to the will and declaration of the King of *France*, certainly the King of France would be deemed of more power and authority in the Government of Ireland, and the people more subject to him than to the King of England. So if the Law of God is to be measured by the Pope's will and declaration, certainly the Pope is above God in the government of mankind.

Who would believe that any Christian would presume to say, that it should be a greater sin to transgress an Ecclesiastical Law of the Pope, than to break the Law of God? Yet Coster, one of the chief defenders of the *Romish* doctrine, scruples not to say as much,* resolutely asserting that it is a greater sin in a priest to marry than to commit fornication or keep a concubine in his house; that greater sin (in his opinion) being but a transgression of a Papal law, and the other, reputed by him for lighter, a trespass against the Law of God, expressed in his Decalogue. What Christian ears can abide to hear such execrable blasphemies? Will they wonder now that the Pope should be taxed with that anti-christian impiety declared by Daniel the Prophet, and by St. Paul, *who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God?* (Dan. xi. 36; 2 Thess. ii. 4.)

Here you see the *Romish* Church guilty of that abomination, mentioned in our text, of extolling man above God,

## The Pope's Supremacy.

To this enormity of robbing God of his prerogatives is joined another, of making the Pope supreme head and master of all Christians, not only in spiritual matters, but also in their temporal interests; with power to depose Kings, and move their subjects to rebellion against them, when they do not obey his will; as it was declared in the Lateran Council under Innocent III., by these terrible words:†—*If a temporal lord, warned by the Church,*

‡ Costerus c. 15, *Enchirid. propos.* 9.—[Francis Coster was a Belgic Jesuit, and, according to Alegambe, an accomplished person. He was a great worshipper of the Lady Mary!—deiparæ Virginis præcipuus cultor extitit!! He died in 1619. The *Enchiridiön Controversiarum* appeared at Cologne in 1585 and 1591.

† Concil. Lateran. IV. can. 3. A very full examination of the opinions of modern Romish Priests, when anxious to attain political power, as to this canon, may be seen in M'Ghee's Nullity *of the* Government *of Queen Victoria in Ire-*

*doth neglect to purge his land of heresy, let him be excommunicated by the Metropolitan: and if within a year he gives no satisfaction, let that be signified to the Pope, that from thenceforth he may declare his subjects absolved from their obedience to him, and expose his lands to be occupied by Catholics,* And so it was done to King John of England, by the same Pope Innocent III., as is recorded by Polydore Vergil;* to the Emperor Henry III., by Gregory VII.; to Frederic II., by Innocent IV.; and to several other Christian princes, as Suarez relates;† making the practice of Popes herein an argument of their power of so doing. Which kind of arguing, as I was wondering at in so exact a Schoolman, and reflecting upon the power of prejudice and education, even over the most sublime wits, an ingenious Divine of the University of Dublin replied facetiously, that it was a very conclusive argument that proceeds *ab actu ad potentiam*, being he *did* so, it is a sign he *could* do it. That was good for a jest. But Suarez, to be in earnest and give consistency to his argument, subsumed, that the Church Universal both saw and approved of the proceeding; and the Church being infallible, could not have approved it, if it had been unlawful. Many other controversies would have a quick decision, if this argument were legal. That all saw it, is allowed; but that all approved of it freely, is denied; force and fear made them suffer what they would have resisted, if they had known how.

I remit enlarging upon the injustice of the Pope's pretension herein, to another occasion; and their unreasonable exclamations against the claim of our Princes to supremacy of power over their subjects; inasmuch as they assume no other than such as the godly Kings of Israel had in their time over the Jews, and the Christian Emperors, in the Primitive Church, over their respective subjects; as it is declared in the XXXVIIth Article, and the 2nd Canon of the Church of England.

I will only reflect at present upon the cruelty which the Pope has practised of late towards the unhappy *Irish*, his followers, in pursuit of his pretended power of deposing kings. That being no

*land; or the Pope the virtual Ruler of the land—an exhibition of* THE LAWS OF THE PAPACY.—London, 1839—pp. 59-100—a volume which ought to be in the hands of every Protestant.

* *Polydor.* lib. 15. † *Suarez.* lib. 3, *defens.* cap. 23.

matter of faith, nor passing a probable opinion, as Azor, Perron,* and other learned authors of his own party declare; if we may call *probable* a doctrine so damnable, that the great Parliament of France (wherein out of two hundred votes only six were Protestants, in the year 1604) commanded Suarez's book, containing this doctrine, to be burned by the hands of the public executioner, and ordered the Jesuits to have their preachers exhort the people to the contrary doctrine, or otherwise that they should be proceeded against as traitors and disturbers of the public peace; besides all their own Divines generally asserting, that in a probable controversy, one may with safety of conscience follow which side he pleases: yet the Pope prohibited severely the Irish to disclaim that seditious doctrine, let them suffer ever so many penalties and suspicions for it. So zealous is his Holiness, *not* for the salvation of souls, but of the conservation of his own grandeur, in having all power upon earth at his will, and the crowns of kings to stand or fall at his beck! Is not this to exercise tyranny and cruelty in the conduct of souls?

## 2. Transubstantiation.

Touching the *second* point proposed, of Transubstantiation, I signified before how prodigious that doctrine was, and what weak foundation they had for it in Scripture. Now I will declare how directly contrary to Scripture it is, and to the doctrine of the Fathers of the Primitive Church. The Council of Trent† accurses such as affirm that *bread and wine remain in this Sacrament after consecration.* And yet St. Paul teaches us expressly, and repeats the same doctrine some five times over, that after consecration it is bread which is broken and eaten: *The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me.* (1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.) Of the bread which he took in his hand, all that follows is affirmed; to wit, that *he brake it,* and that *it*

* Azor, 2 lib. 11, c. 5, q. 8; *Replique a la Response du Roy de la Grande Bretagne par Card. Du Perron;* Paris, 1620. Part of this volume was translated into English at *Doway*, 1630.

† Conc. Trident. sess. 13. can. 3.

*was his body.* And whereas in a literal sense, it could not be said, with truth or propriety, that the bread was his body; as you may not say with sense, that a stick is a stone, he declares immediately that he was speaking in a figurative sense, willing it to be a commemoration or remembrance of him; the bread still remaining in the nature of bread, though elevated by Christ's institution to a supernatural and spiritual power of giving grace to well-disposed receivers. And so St. Paul, in several verses after, making mention of that consecrated element, calls it still bread: *As often as ye eat this bread: whosoever shall eat this bread,* &c. (1 Cor. xi. 26, 27) In all which St. Paul does but conform himself to the words of our Saviour, which he relates exactly as set down by St. Luke in the xxii. chapter of his gospel, (v. 19.) *And he took bread, and gave thanks; and brake it, and gave unto them saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.* And when our Saviour himself thus declares his words to be taken in a figurative sense, after an usual and plain manner of speaking, it is a disorder to run to a violent explication of them, containing wonders surpassing human understanding, without any probable ground in the holy text; as the Papists do to maintain their doctrine, with this or the like gloss—*This is my body*, that is, 'the thing contained under these forms, is, by conversion and substantial transmutation, my body:' so as pretending to stick to the letter, they only keep the *sound* of the words; and to give them sense for their purpose, they, unawares, produce a trope, or something darker—a paradox, repugnant to human reasoning, and no ways coherent with the context.

We all agree in calling the holy Eucharist a Sacrament; why should we not then agree in taking the expressions touching it in a sacramental way? A Sacrament, in common, is a *sign* of a sacred thing: *Signum rei sacræ*, as Divines ordinarily define it. Why may not the Sacrament of Christ's body be called *a sign* of his body? Why may not we understand that to be the meaning of Christ's words, when taking the bread, he said, *This is my body?* to wit, this is the sign of his body? it being usual to call sacramental signs by the name of the things signified by them; as St. Augustine testifies, saying,* *Sacraments are signs, which*

* Epist. 98, tom. 2, col. 267.

*often do take the name of those things which they do signify and represent.* And to our purpose adds, that *after a certain manner the Sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ.* So the lamb, being a sign of the Passover, is called *the Passover:* (Matt. xxvi. 17; Exod. xii. 11.) The rock, being a sign of Christ's suffering for us, is called *Christ; and that rock was Christ,* (1 Cor. x. 4;) and baptism, the sign of Christ's burial, is called Christ's burial, which St. Augustine applies to our purpose, saying, *As baptism is called Christ's burial, so is the Sacrament of the body of Christ called his body.*

Besides Bellarmine and all other Romish writers confess, not being able to deny it, that the words of our Saviour, touching the second part of this Sacrament, to wit, the cup, are figurative: *This cup is the New Testament of my blood;* where they acknowledge a trope in the word cup or *chalice*, taking it for that which is in the cup.* Why will not they likewise admit the former words, relating to the bread, to be figurative?—such pressing reasons moving to it, and such terrible inconveniences attending their construction, as hereto has been, and shall be yet further declared.

Now that the most Reverend Fathers of that happier age, taught by Christ and his Apostles, were of opinion, that the words of our Saviour should be taken in a figurative sense, and the Eucharistical bread be a type or sign of his sacred body, is clearly seen by their writings, such as could escape the blots of the Roman Expurgatory [Index.] Venerable Denis Areopagita was ignorant of Transubstantiation; and so distinguished between the substantial signs and Christ signified by them, saying, "By those reverend signs and symbols Christ is signified, and the faithful made partakers of him."† He calleth the Sacrament a type, even after consecration, as Bellarmine himself confesses ‡ So that, according to St. Denis, the elements of the bread and wine in this sacrament are types and symbols; that is to say, figures and

* "Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, *Hoc est corpus meum*, cum signum daret corporis sui." August. *contra Adamant.* cap. 12.—"Non negamus in verbo *calix* tropum esse." Bellarm. *de Euchar.* lib. 1, cap. xi. *oct. arg.*

† Dionys. Areopag. *Eccles. Hierar.* cap. 1. Imo et Dionysius *cap. Hier.* 3, [par. 3] This of course was not written by Dionysius the Areopagite: see *Rivet. Crit. Sac.* 1, cap. 9.

‡ Eucharistiam vocat antitypon Bellarm. *de Euchar.* lib. 2, cap. 15, §. sed hæc.

signs of the body and blood of Christ; though not bare signs, but really exhibiting Christ and his spiritual grace to the faithful duly disposed; which being St. Denis's expression, fully agrees with the Church of England in this particular.

So Chrysostom delivers clearly the same doctrine, saying, that "before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but the Divine grace sanctifying it, by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread; but is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it."* But St. Austin is most eminent in clearing this point, where he brings in Christ thus speaking to his disciples:† "You are not to eat this body which you see, nor to drink that blood which my crucifiers shall pour forth. I have commended to you a Sacrament which being spiritually understood shall quicken you." And again he says, that "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. For he did not hesitate to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body." And in another place he says: "that which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ, after his Assumption, is celebrated by the Sacrament of Remembrance."‡

Theodoret is more emphatical upon this subject, saying, "Christ honoured the symbols and the signs which are seen with the title of his body and blood; not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace. For neither do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched," &c.§

I will conclude these testimonies with one that may haply carry more weight, if not be deemed infallible, I mean of Pope Gelasius, speaking thus: "Truly the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ which we receive is a Divine thing; for that by it we are made partakers of the Divine nature: and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly

* Chrysost. *Epist. ad Monach. Cæsar. contra hæres. Apollinar.* [tom. 3, p. 897, edit. Paris, 1835.]

† August. *in Psal.* XCVIII.

‡ Aug. *contra Adamantium*, cap. 14; idem *contra Faustum Manichæum*, lib. 4, cap. 5.

§ Theodoret. *Dialog.* c. 34. [dial. 1, cap. 8, p. 54, *Tiguri*, 1593.]

an image or similitude of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of the mysteries."*

I am to suppose it will be replied (for some exception must be conceived against evidences so clear and consecutive) that these testimonies of the Fathers are not to be seen thus in their more corrected editions; which I have reason to believe; having seen the venerable writings of the most ancient and grave Fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin, defaced with large blots, wheresoever they were found opposite to the present tenets and practice of the *Roman* Church, according to the direction of the *Roman* Expurgatory [Index.] They pretend that Protestants have inserted in the books of the Fathers those clauses favouring their own doctrine; but who can believe that so many weighty volumes, making up great libraries, should be newly printed to receive such supplies? that so many clear sentences, concording with the context, should be so artificially conveyed into the very heart and marrow of the Homilies of the Fathers? The contrary is the more credible to me: *I having seen very ancient libraries, which never came under the hands of a Protestant, expurged* of such clauses and sentences, according to the rule of the *Roman* Expurgatory [Index.]

Besides this, Scotus, Ocham, Biel, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, Bassolis, Cajetan, Melchior Canus, and many others, eminent Schoolmen, have affirmed, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not expressed in the Canon of the Bible.† And certainly it was no article of faith, before the Lateran Council declared it for such 1200 years after Christ, as Scotus and others affirm. And even after this declaration, several of their chief teachers continued affirming that article not to be contained in Scripture; especially Bassolis, Cajetan, Melchior Canus;‡ and so they coined it out of

* Gelasius Papa *de duabus naturis contra Eutychem et Nestorium:* vide Picherel. in dissert. de missa et expositione verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini, p. 14, Lug. Bat. 1629.

† *Scot.* in 4 dist. 11, q. 3; *Ocham*, ib. q. 6; *Biel* Lect. 40 in Canon. Missæ; *Roffens.* contra capt. Babylon. cap. 10, §. 2.

‡ Bassolis, Cajetan, apud *Suarez*, tom. 3, disp. 40, §. 3; Canus loc. com. lib. 3, cap. 3.—[John de Bassolis was a Franciscan, who flourished about the year 1466. He obtained the name of *Ordinatissimus*, and wrote, as usual, a very lucid Commentary upon the four books of Peter the Lombard, which was printed at Paris in 1517. (Possevin *Apparat. Sac.* 1, 824,) though, according to Peter Crabbe, the Lectures upon the sentences were delivered in 1322. Vide *Miræi auct. de Scripp. Eccles.* p. 77; edit. Hamb. 1718.]

their own heads; for they could not declare it to be revealed, if it was not in Scripture.

Their doctrine of Transubstantiation and Corporal Presence of our Saviour, in the sacrament of the altar, being thus grounded, consider how desperate is their resolution in giving to the consecrated wafer the worship of Divinity; nay, greater than ever they give to the true undoubted God, as is well known to such as have seen the sumptuous pomp of Spain, and other Popish countries, in adoring the consecrated Host. Even standing to their own principles, they can never be absolutely certain of Christ's corporal presence under these forms of bread, *that* depending, as themselves teach, upon the *intention* of the Priest consecrating and his due ordination; and this latter again depending upon the *intention* of the Bishop who ordained him and *his* legal ordination; and so upward of endless requisites impossible to be known certainly upon any occasion, as Bellarmine, Vega, and all their writers commonly confess.* What blindness therefore is it, to give divine worship to a thing which they do not know certainly to be more than a piece of bread!

Some, pressed with this argument, would answer that they were free from idolatry in their practice herein, because they believed that Host to be God. But upon this ground, the Egyptians in worshipping the sun for God, and the Israelites in adoring the golden calf, believing it was the true God which brought them out of Egypt, and the grossest idolaters that ever were, may plead an excuse from idolatry, alleging unwilful mistakes. To this again some of them reply, that they do not barely suppose Christ to be really present under the form of bread; but they know and believe it upon the same ground and motives, upon which they believe that Christ is God, and consequently to be adored. Whereby certainly they give great advantage to the enemies of Christ's

* Bellarm. *de Justificat.* lib. 3, c. 8; Vega, lib. 9, *de Justif.* c. 17. As the correctness of a statement on this point has been discredited in reference to Bellarmine, by Dr. Brown of Downside College, though Dr. Sall appears to have had no doubt of the subject being one of *Catholic* belief, the passage is here adduced from the original, to supersede any "acute and clear-headed" remarks from any other quarter:—At neque potest quis certus esse, certitudine fidei, se non ponere obicem cum possit ex ignorantia crassa gerere affectum ad peccatum; neque potest certus esse, certitudine fidei, se percipere verum sacramentum cum sacramentum sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit. Editio Lugduni, 1596, in 3 vols.

Divinity; seeing they make the truth of these two things equal, that is the *Divinity of Christ*, and Transubstantiation: and of the untruth of this bold assertion, I will take learned Bellarmine for judge, who, when he is proving the Divinity of Christ,* goes through nine several classes of arguments (of which six are wholly taken out of Scripture,†) with uncontrolable strength and clearness. But being to prove Transubstantiation out of Scripture, his only argument is from those words of our Saviour, Matt. xxvi. 26. *Take eat, this is my body.* And finding that proof not clear enough, he appeals to the authority of Councils and Fathers,‡ concluding the chapter thus: *Though in the words of the Lord there may be some obscurity, or ambiguity, that is removed by the Councils and Fathers of the Church*, and so passes on to that kind of proof.§

But whatsoever of Scripture there be in favour of Transubstantiation, it is intolerable boldness to say, there is the *same* reason for the adoration of the Host, as for Christ's Divinity itself; whereas for the one we have a plain command in Scripture, and for the other nothing like it. St. Paul tells us, that *all the angels are commanded to worship the Son of God*, (Heb. i. 6.) *and that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth*, (Phil. ii. 10.) And St. John tells us from his master's mouth, that the heavenly Father commanded *that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father*, (John v. 23.) But where is the least intimation given, that we are to worship Christ in the sacramental bread, supposing him present there? If you answer that the general command

* Bellarm. *de Christo*, lib. 1, cap. 4.

† This discussion occupies nearly 40 columns from col. 240. to 279. edit. Paris, 1613. Compare this with the jejunity of supposed Scriptural evidence in favour of a corporal change in the Lord's Supper, even when puffed out by a Bellarmine

‡ *De Sacr. Euchar.* lib. 3, cap. 19.

§ It might prove an investigation of some benefit to the Church, and to the world, would Mr. Newman examine, whether there be as strong and satisfactory evidences of Bellarmine's *clear-headedness*, and *masterly acuteness* in this discussion as in the one on *Justification*; and a comparison of him with Bishop Davenant here (a Bishop, be it remembered, of the Anglican *Protestant* Church) might shew who *ought* to be represented as the *Master* in *our* Israel. The public at any rate could judge from a translation of his *Prælectio de Justitia*, printed uniform with the Oxford edition of the Fathers. Vide Newman's *Lectures on Justification*; Append. p. 409

extends to him wherever he is present; I reply that, you may upon that account as well worship him in the sun and in the moon, and in any other bread; for in all he is present as God.

I will conclude this point with answering the argument I saw, supposed to be the most weighty against our doctrine here declared, of taking the sacrament of the altar for a commemoration of our Saviour, and spiritual partaking of his blessed body and blood for the food of our souls to life everlasting, without any real transmutation of the substances; that, if the Jews understood his words in this sense, they could not in reason strive among themselves, saying, *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* (John vi. 52.) nor his disciples say, *This is an hard saying; who can hear it?* (*ibid.* v. 60.) And Christ replying, did not reprehend their words, but repeated his former doctrine, saying, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you,* (v. 53.)

This argument I once overvalued; but after considering better, I look upon it as a tacit censure of Christ's reply, as being non-pertinent to satisfy the objection of his hearers. Shall we pretend to understand their meaning better than Christ, to whom they spake? Or is it possible that the malice of the Jews would not, or that the simplicity of the disciples could not, understand the height and mysterious sense of the words of our Lord, viz., that the elements of bread and wine, consecrated and taken in a sacramental way, in remembrance of his death and passion, should feed to life everlasting the faithful; taking them with due preparation, as *Protestants* understand, in conformity with the Fathers of the Primitive Church before related? but that rather they understood them of a corporal and fleshly eating of his body as *Papists* do; and so represented difficulties which reason dictated against the same expression, such as we did in the beginning of this discourse. You say that he did not correct such misunderstanding. But he did apparently, when replying to the objection of his disciples—*It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life.* (John vi. 63.) Wherewith he draws them from an apprehension of corporal eating, to that of spiritual feeding, conducing to the everlasting life of their souls. His reply to the Jews signifies that they understood him, as we do, of a spiritual eating and miraculous operation, which they would not believe;

and so he repeats the same doctrine to them, with the commination annexed, that if they did not eat his flesh, *they should not have life in them.* (v. 53.)

### 3. Worship of Images.

As to the *third* point, of worshipping Images, it is clearly prohibited by God in the second precept of the Decalogue: *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, thou shalt not bow down to them, Exod.* xx. 4, 5. This precept they have put out of [some of] their catechisms, to give place to their own of worshipping of Images, with the same honour due to the persons represented by them, and consequently, the image of God, andof Christ, with *latria;* of the Virgin Mary with *hyperdulia;* of Saints, with *dulia,* according to the gradation which they express. This, to be the general tenet with them, Azor declares in these words: *It is the uniform judgment of Divines, that the image is to be honoured and worshipped with the same honour and worship wherewith that is worshipped of which it is an image.** Nay, they will have us believe, that God ordained so much in the first commandment, and so contradicted himself by prohibiting in the second commandment, what he had commanded in the first. Lau. Vaux, in his Catechism,† to this question, *Who breaketh the first commandment of God, by irreverence of God?* returns

* *Constans est Theologorum sententia imagines eodem honore, et cultu honorari et coli, quo colitur id, cujus est imago.* Azor, *Instit. Mor.* tom 1, lib. 9, c. 6.—[John Azor was a native of Lorca, in Spain, and entered the order of Jesuits in 1559. He afterwards lectured with great applause upon Theology at Alcala, Placentia. and Rome, where he died in 1607. The *Institutiones Morales* were published in 3 vols. folio, Rome. 1600, and have been often reprinted at Venice, Lyons, Cologne, Ingoldstadt, Rome, and Brescia. As his works on Casuistical questions are referred to, even at this day, in Papal publications, we have deemed it right to give this short sketch: more may be seen in Alegambe's *Biblioth. Scripp. Soc. Jesu;* and in Antonio's *Biblioth. Hisp. nova.* tom 1. p. 643, edit. 1783.—For a list of authors supporting the same opinions as Azor, upon the Adoration of Images, consult Forbes's *Instructiones historico-theol.* lib. 7, cap. 2, §. 26; or Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive,* p. 116.

† Or *Christian Doctrine necessary for children,* 8vo. and 12mo. Louvain, 1567: Antw. 1574, 1583, 1599. The author was a member of Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards became Warden of Manchester College, in Lancashire, of which dignity he was deprived when Elizabeth came to the throne. He died in 1570. Dodd's *Church History,* 2, p. 110, edit. 1739.

this answer: *They that do not give due reverence to God and his Saints, or their reliques and images.* What reverence they pretend due to images Jacobus de Graffiis declares fully,* according to what has been said before.

But Dionysius Petavius, one of their most warrantable antiquaries, tells us, that, *for the four first centuries and farther, there was little or no use of images in the temples or oratories of Christians;*† and such was, Pope Gregory declares, to have been only for historical use—for instruction of the unlearned, not to worship them; and so writing to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, who brake down the images that were in his Church, on seeing the people worship them, says thus: *We commend you that you have such zeal, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped; but yet we judge that you should not have broken these images; for painting is therefore used in Churches, that they which are unlearned may yet, by sight, read those things upon the walls, which they cannot read in books; therefore your brotherhood ought both to preserve the images, and restrain the people from worshipping them.*‡

This difference between making an image and the worshipping of it is confirmed by the example of the Brazen Serpent, which God himself ordered to be made, Numb. xxi. 8.; which when only made and looked upon was medicine; but when worshipped it became poison, and was destroyed, 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Learned *Vasquez* acknowledges, that the worship of God by an image is clearly prohibited in the second commandment; and not only the worship of an idol, saying, that, *it is plain in Scripture, that God did not only forbid that in the second commandment, which was unlawfully the law of nature, as the worship of an image for God, but the worshipping of the true God by any similitude.*§

* *Decisio casuum conscientiæ*, p. 1, lib. 2, c. 2, *sect. penult.*—JAMES DE GRAFFIIS was a Benedictine, born at Capua. His four books upon Cases of Conscience were first printed at Venice, 1591, and afterwards with additions at Lyons, 1592. Possevin. *Apparat. sac.* tom 1, 783.

† Petav. *Dogma. Theol.* 5, lib. 15, c. 3, § 13; c. 14, §. 8.

‡ Greg. Regist. l. 7, Ep. §, 209, ad *Serenum*.

§ *Vasq.* in 3, p. dist. 94. c. 3.—There is some excellent matter in Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive*, pt. 2, p. 481, edit. Oxford, 1836, relative to the instance of the Brazen Serpent, and quotations from Tertullian most decisive.

*Nicephorus Callistus*, when relating the heresy of the Armenians and Jacobites, states, that they made images of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; which he censures as a most absurd thing —*quod perquam absurdum est:** yet they do it in the *Roman* Church. But St. Clement of Alexandria, of images in general declares thus: *We have no images in the world; it is clearly forbidden to us to exercise that deceitful art; for it is written, Thou shalt not make any similitude of any thing in heaven above, &c.*†

They confess it is sinful to worship an image *terminative*, or in itself; but pretend that it is lawful to worship it *relative*, or for God, or the saint's sake who is represented. A strange way of serving God! to transgress his commandment in order to please him!

Saul was reprehended and severely punished for this kind of officiousness; when being commanded to destroy all that Amalek had, he spared sheep and oxen to sacrifice unto the Lord. But that fair pretext could not excuse his disobedience; and what he thought to be religious devotion was declared to be no better than idolatry. Samuel intimating to him this fearful verdict, asks—*Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams; for rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.* (1 Sam. xv. 22, 23.) This being so; when God is clear and absolute in commanding not to bow down to images, adding to this precept (beyond others) special expressions of jealousy, and commination of severity against infringements of it; how can bowing down to them be justified with colours of devotion? or *that* excused from rebellion or stubbornness which is censured to be *idolatry?*

Besides, the worship of an image *terminative*, and not *relative* involves a contradiction, the very essence of an image including relation to another; whereas nothing can be an image of itself. Wherefore the same precept that prohibits a *terminative*, excludes

* Niceph. lib. 8, c. 53.—*Vixit sub annum*, 1305. His history commences with the Christian æra, and ends with 625, so far as the remains of it at least reach. *Aub. Miræi auct.* p. 79, apud Fabricii *Biblioth. Eccles.* Hamb. 1718.

† *Strom.* lib. 7. cap. 6; and *in Protrept.* cap. 4. §. 62.

a *relative.* But whatsoever may be intended by these expressions, how many of the commonalty are there who take notice of that distinction? Very few certainly. When they bow down to an image, the image itself down-right they worship. Then generally they commit idolatry in this practice, or at least a sin in exposing themselves to the danger of committing it.

But what of the inconveniences of this practice? One comes to a Church or Chapel filled with images, and before he can recollect himself and bethink of God, his imagination and eyes run upon those pictures, and he returns home more full of figure than of Spirit.

### 4. Invocation of Saints.

Now to the *fourth* point: their Invocation of Saints is contrary to God's ordinance, who has appointed his Son Jesus to make Intercession for us, (Rom. viii. 34); who is more compassionate, and better able, and more willing than any of the saints or angels to help us: and himself assures us, that whatsoever we ask the heavenly Father in his name, he will give it us, (John xv. 16) Contrary to this and the declaration of St. Peter, that *there is not salvation in any other;* and that *there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved,* (Acts iv. 12.) the *Romish* Church teaches her children to call the blessed Virgin Mary their life and hope, *vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra;* their Redeemer and Saviouress, *Reparatrix et salvatrix desperantis animæ;* their comfort and the giver of spiritual grace, *invigoratrix et largitrix spiritualis gratiæ;* with other extravagancies,* certainly unwelcome to that glorious mother of

* St. Alphonsus Liguori "preached with extraordinary fervour on the devotion to the sacred heart of Jesus, the office of which he procured leave to introduce into his Diocese. We have already spoken of his tender affection towards our blessed Lady. One day his director happening to express his confidence that she would appear to him, at least at the hour of death, as she had often appeared to many of her servants; 'Mark,' said Alphonsus, 'when I was young, I often conversed with our Lady, and she directed me in all the affairs of the Order.' His director repeatedly asked him what she had said to him, but his only answer was—'she said so many sweet things; she said so many sweet things.' He declared the blessed Virgin the Protectress of his Order, and sought to encourage devotion to her, as a powerful means of obtaining Divine grace. 'The Reformers,' said he, 'represent the devotion to Mary as injurious to God, denying her

Christ, and true humble soul; who in that her famous Canticle acknowledges her very lowliness to be the motive* of God's high favours to her, *for he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden*, (Luke i. 48.) The like exorbitancies they teach and preach of other saints.

As I was considering this point, a paper of my own came to my hands, censuring the doctrine which I heard in a Sermon preached where I was present in the city of Palencia in Spain, in the year 1661, by a Friar of a certain Order, upon the festivity of one of their saints, saying of him that he was incapable of erring in his doctrine—that his doctrine was of equal authority with the Bible;—and that whatsoever such a saint should say (though false in itself,) he saying it, it must be true. The proofs which he brought for these desperate positions were as mad as the positions themselves, and so ridiculous that I dare not relate them in this grave auditory, though I have them in writing. Let not malice gather by this discourse that I revile the Saints or repine at their glory; I rejoice at it, and bless God for so rewarding his servants. What I reprehend is the blasphemous abuses committed in the worship of them, unpleasing certainly to the saints themselves.

A facetious expression of a Spanish preacher may be a serious proof of this being so. Preaching upon the festival of a saint, founder of a certain Order, he feigned that, whilst studying his sermon, he had an ecstacy or dream, wherein finding himself in heaven, he saw the saint, of whom he was preaching, behind the door, hiding himself; and being questioned why he did so? he answered, that he came there being ashamed to hear the mad expressions of his friars in praising and extolling him upon such days.

And certainly, if the saints living in glory were capable of shame and sorrow, they would grieve and be ashamed at the proceedings of their wild worshippers. Of this I made grievous complaints to the Inquisitor General of Spain, exclaiming against

power, and impugning her potent intercession: but it is our duty to shew, for the profit of our hearers, how powerful she is with God, and how pleasing it is to him to see her honoured.'—These feelings of devotion to her he has embodied in his *Glories of Mary*, which has made known in England and other countries the filial tenderness and love which he cherished towards our Holy Mother."—*Lives of the Saints Canonized on Trinity Sunday*, 1839; (London, 1839,) p. 46.

* This is St. *Bernard's* interpretation, (*de Officio Episcop.* cap. 5, §. 17 .)but, query whether correct?

exorbitancies of that kind repugnant to all Christianity; being commissioned by himself to give him account of what doctrine I found censurable. Even then, and in that country, I cried against these exorbitancies; but how successful my good intention to that purpose was, I do not know, for this malady is growing still. The way of obtaining credit for a sound Catholic with the blind vulgar is, to exceed in this practice. As to spite the Jews, and seem true Christians, they will eat more pork than their stomachs can bear; so to spite Protestants, they will run beyond all measure even of their own principles, in advancing saints. For one Church dedicated to our Saviour, you will see an hundred dedicated to divers saints; for one *Pater noster*, ten *Ave Marias;** for one discourse or praise of God, a thousand of their respective saints: whereof I often saw, to my deep grief, sad experiences. A person of quality lies dying: in comes a friar of his order, and falls with all his rhetoric to exhort him to devotion towards the saints of his own order; to take the habit, scapulary, or cord of it.† Then comes one of another order, and falls likewise a commending the saints and habit of *his order;*‡ and so each one as they come. Among them all, little or no mention of our Saviour Jesus's passion to rely on. Would you think it is the good of that soul, or the honour of the saint which they are zealous for; or rather

* The Jesuit, William Gumpenburg, has enumerated the Images of the Virgin Mary (of Rome) throughout Europe—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Rome | 73 | In Sicily about | 100 |
| Venice | 45 | Italy | 463 |
| Naples | 72 | Spain | 499 |
| Bologna | 93 | Germany | 558 |

and all of them endowed with the "potentiality" of working miracles!!!

*Atlas Marianus de Imagg. miraculosis B. V. per orbem Christianum cum figuris; edit. tertia Monachii*, 1657, 1659; and in an enlarged form, in 2 vols. folio, 1672; see *Alegambe Scrip. Soc. Jesu*, p. 314.

† "In the 13th century, *Scapulars* were introduced by Simon Stock, *cords* by St. Francis, habits by St. Dominic; and after a lapse of some time, *little blessed loaves*, by Nicholas Tolentine. The Carmelites, of which holy brotherhood Simon Stock was a distinguished member, gave currency to the Scapular; the Dominicans of course to the holy habit; the Franciscans to the cord, and the Augustinians to the bread of St. Nicholas." O'Croly's *Enquiry into the points of difference between the two Churches;* Dublin, 1835, p. 171.

‡ "Vix peracta est confessio, jam aderat in ædibus *turba quatuor ordinum*, quos vulgus appellat mendicantium. *Ma.* Tot vultures ad unum cadaver?"—Erasmi colloquia, *funus*, ubi plura.

the interest of the Convent? Judge you; and let others of more liberty speak it. Have pity, O good God, on souls left to such instruction!

## 5. Half Communion.

Touching the *fifth* point of denying the Chalice to the Laity, I think it an injury to our cause to seek after any farther proof of it, than their own confession, that our Saviour Jesus *did* institute, and the Primitive Church *did* practise the administration of the blessed sacrament under both kinds to the people, as it is the custom in the Church of England. But the Roman Church thought fit to do otherwise. This confession is their greatest confusion, and too sufficient a confutation. It was to me a horror to see the boldness of the Council of Constance, confessing the aforesaid, and coming down with a *non obstante;* that, notwithstanding Christ's institution, and the practice of the Primitive Church therein, the Council prohibited all Priests, under pain of excommunication, from administering the communion under both kinds to the Laity,* for causes which they do not express; neither need we labour in searching after them, it being sufficient for our purpose to know, that they can find, or pretend causes to alter Christ's institutions and introduce others contrary to them. The only reason they give for their decree herein, is, the authority of the Church, and some preceding Popes or Fathers, and yet acknowledging that Christ ordained the contrary. Is not this to *transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?* (Matt. xv. 3.) Is not this to agree with that attribute of Antichrist, *who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God?* (2 Thess. ii. 4. The Pope would seem to clear himself from that imputation, bearing for title, *Servant of the servants of God. The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.* (Gen. xxvii. 22.) The Pope's speech in calling himself *servant of the servants of God,* is Christian; but his deed in preferring his own law and institution to the Institution of Christ, is Antichristian.

They cry *Antiquity* and *Authority of the Church* for this practice; and in the same breath they disclaim greater antiquity,

* *Concil. Constant.* Sess. 13, [apud *Labbe tom.* xii. col. 100.]

and more warrantable authority of the Church, acknowledging that Christ *did* institute, and that the Primitive Church *did* practise the giving of the sacrament under both kinds to all the people. How inconsequent is this error! This instance alone may assure us, that the Romish religion as it stands now, did not proceed entirely from Christ and his Apostles.

If we object, that the detracting of the cup is the bereaving the faithful people of their spiritual food to life everlasting, by not permitting them to take of the blood of Christ, he affirming, that *Except they eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood they have no life in them,* (John vi. 53.) the Council tells us, *We must firmly believe and no way doubt, that the entire body and blood of our Saviour is contained as well under the form of bread, as under the form of wine.* But we have shewed before how little ground we have for a firm belief of their doctrine in this point—how great reason to doubt it, nay, to be assured of the contrary; and that Christ is present and taken in the Eucharist, only in a spiritual aud sacramental way; that being so, in bereaving the faithful of the cup, they bereave them of the whole sacrament. For their own Divines agree in affirming, that the consecrated forms of bread and wine are essential constitutes of this sacrament; nay, they alone are the sacramental property, as Suarez declares, (in 3 p. disp. 42. sect. 1. conc. 3.) relating a great number of other Divines for the same doctrine. Therefore, taking no wine, they take no sacrament; taking no sacrament, they have no life in them, as our Saviour declared; and so bereaving them of the sacramental wine, they bereave them of the life of their souls. And is not this to use cruelty to souls?

### 6. Purgatory and Indulgences.

As for the *sixth* article, concerning Purgatory, I do not find their learned men so confident as the vulgar, in fixing a determinate place for it in the bowels of the earth, with those frightful qualities which their legends specify; being content to conclude from some places of Scripture, and by conjecture, that after this life, there must be some place to expiate or purge souls from venial sins, or satisfy for the temporal penalty due to great ones; without determining whether that place be over or under, or *in*

the earth; or whether the pain be heat, or cold, or darkness, or tempest, &c.

And as the conclusion is obscure, so is the inference of it from the premises laid. The chief passage quoted out of the Old Testament, is the case of Judas Maccabeus sending money to Jerusalem, that sacrifices should be made for his soldiers defunct; and the gloss annexed, that *therefore it is a holy consideration to pray for the dead*, &c. But though the book relating this case were canonical and of certain authority, (which is not allowed) yet the conclusion pretended from it for the doctrine of Purgatory has no force. For, prayers for the dead may be made, and were made for different purposes, than that of drawing them out of Purgatory. (2 Macc. xii. 43.) First, because many learned writers of the *Romish* party do teach, that God, as a good pay-master, oftentimes gives beforehand, the reward of services to be done in the future;* and therefore, being long-sighted, and always present to all the spaces of eternity, he may see now, and listen to prayers, that will be made in an age hereafter. And foreseeing that godly persons would pray in the future, for the assistance of his grace to one dying now, he may yield it accordingly. This doctrine I have seen put to practice in a letter written to myself, by one of the most learned men in *Spain;* wherein speaking of the death of his mother, he prayed to God that he might have assisted her in the latter hour for dying penitent. If this go well, prayers may be commendable for the dead to different purposes from that of drawing them out of Purgatory. And if the case related of the Maccabees be true, it is more likely that the prayers made for the slain should have proceeded in the manner aforesaid, than for bringing them out of Purgatory. Whereas, in the same place it is related, that those men were found to have committed a mortal sin, (which is not pretended to be pardoned in Purgatory): *Under the coats of every one that was slain, they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden to the Jews by the law.* (2 Macc. xii. 40.) And though Bellarmine pretends that the sin of those men was *venial* through ignorance, it is but a bare conjecture, and not agreeable to the context, which shews that deed to have drawn upon them God's vengeance: *then every man saw that this was the cause*

* *Suar.* tom. 1, in 3 p. *disp.* 10. *sect.* 4.

*wherefore they were slain.* Their death might have been their temporal punishment, and final penitence might have freed them from the eternal, as Bellarmine confesses, relating for it the 34th verse of the lxxviiith Psalm: *Cum occideret eos, quærebant eum, et revertebantur—When he slew them, then they sought him, and they returned and enquired early after God.*

But not to rely upon the aforementioned consideration of some particular writers; if we find in some of the ancients that prayers were made for the dead, it was for other objects than to draw them out of this supposed Purgatory. *First*, to praise God for giving them a happy end in his holy faith, and rest from their labours; as appears by those words of the Revelations used by the ancient Church in the office of the dead: *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit that they may rest from their labours.* (Rev. xiv. 13.) *Secondly*, that we should comfort each other in the death of our friends, reflecting upon the hope of meeting them in heavenly glory, according to those comfortable words of St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, (iv. 13.) accustomed to be read in the same office for the dead: *I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope, &c. Thirdly*, for our spiritual instruction, either considering the good example of our faithful brethren preceding; or reflecting upon our mortality at the sight of death.

All this may be seen by the practice of the Primitive Christians, as it is declared by the author of the Commentaries upon Job, inserted among the works of Origen,* by these words: *We observe the memorials of the saints, and devoutly keep the remembrance of our parents or friends which die in the faith; as well rejoicing for their refreshing, as requesting also for ourselves a godly consummation of the faith; thus therefore do we celebrate the death, not the day of the birth, because they which die shall live for ever; and we celebrate it calling together*

* Lib. 3, Comment. in Job. Both of the Commentaries upon Job, attributed to Origen, are considered to be suppositious: see Dupin's Eccles. Hist. vol. 1, p. 121; but they are nevertheless not without their value: see *Sixtus Senensis* apud Rivet *Critic. sac.* lib. 2, §. 13; and Oudin *Comment. de Scripp. Eccles.* tom. 1, col. 248.

*religious persons with the Priests, the faithful with the Clergy; inviting moreover the needy and the poor; feeding the orphans and widows, that our festivity may be for a memorial of rest to the souls departed, whose remembrance we celebrate; and to us may become a sweet savour in sight of the Eternal God.* Whereby you see prayers and deeds of charity used in exequies of the dead, without any mention of Purgatory.

The same answer may serve, for what Bellarmine relates out of the fourth chapter of Tobias, touching bread and wine to be brought to funerals, and the custom of inviting friends and feeding the poor. What is alleged of passing by fire out of Psalm lxvi. 12, *We went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place*, is as little effective to the purpose; for by *fire*, as well as by *water*, are understood tribulations and crosses of this life.

What they allege out of Matthew xii. where our Saviour says, (verse 32.) that some sins shall not be pardoned, *neither in this world, nor in the world to come;* therefore some sins *are* pardoned *after* this life, is no good consequence; for from a negative follows not a positive: as from saying the Duke of Venice is not Earl of Dublin, it follows not therefore, some other is Earl of Dublin. *Bellarmine* says, the former consequence ought to be held for good, according to the laws of prudence, if not according to the rules of logic; lest Christ should be thought to speak improperly, if no sin were to be pardoned in the other world.* But on this account you are to admit for lawful, according to the rules of prudence, this other consequence, (Matt. i. 25.) *Joseph knew not his wife, till she had brought forth her first-born son;* therefore he knew her not after, lest the Evangelist should be found improper in his delivery. And as *Bellarmine*, or any other Christian, will not think himself obliged to admit this latter consequence, so neither do we think it just to admit the former.

The doctrine of Purgatory being so weakly grounded, the inconveniences of it are very great; making people negligent of true repentance and satisfaction for their sins in this life, in hopes of remission in Purgatory. Besides the occasion which it affords to pitiful abuses in the valuation of masses for stipend, wherein

* Bellarmine, *de purgat.* lib. 1, cap. 4. O wonderful *acuteness and clear-headedness* of Bellarmine! What a Master!

Simony would appear, if that great skill of Casuists did not prevent it, wherewith any sale of sacred things is sanctified and freed from Simony by some dress of *intention*.* What [shall we think] of the cheats used in receiving many stipends from several persons for one mass?—Of the cruelty used towards widows, children, and sometimes towards creditors of the person dying, bequeathing what is their right upon the priesthood often not in any great need of it; wherewith under the shape of piety frequently great impiety is practised. But the vast lucre accruing to the Priesthood from this doctrine (more than any text they have for it) engages them to maintain it.

The *doctrine of Indulgences* serving that of Purgatory, has the same obscurity in the assertion, and uncertainty in the foundation of it, as the former. Suarez declares that Indulgence is nothing else, but a remission of the pains of Purgatory, which God of his infinite goodness, through the excellent merits of Christ (to which he adds the satisfaction of saints) has granted to his Church, together with the power of absolving.† Of the infinite goodness of God, and infinite merit of Christ, no Christian may doubt; as neither of the power of absolving given to his Church. But whether this power extends to the profuse grant of Indulgences practised at present by the Roman Church, Suarez is not so certain of; assigning only as ground for it, Ecclesiastical tradition and ancient custom generally approved.

But neither is the tradition so certain, nor the custom so ancient or generally approved as is pretended. The *first* we meet is that of Gregory the VIIth. given to those of his party who would fight against the Emperor Henry the IIIrd. which Baronius relates from his Penitentiary,‡ in which was promised remission of all their sins to such as would venture their lives in that Holy War. The like indulgence, with the remission of all their sins, was granted to those who would fight against the Saracens in Africa, by Victor, who succeeded Gregory the VIIth. Other Popes following continued the same practice. Then pri-

* The doctrine of *directing the Intention* was exhibited in its more polished form perhaps by the Jesuits: see Pascal's *Provincial Letters;* No. 7, p. 94, Edit. Lond. 1816.

† Suarez, *lib, defens. fid.* c. 15, 23.

‡ Baron. *ad. An. Dom.* 1084, n. 15.

vate Bishops began to publish Indulgences to those who would give money towards the building or repairing of Churches, or other public works, promising pardon of the seventh, or fourth, or third part of their sins, according as their bounty deserved.* So as Maurice Bishop of Paris is said to have built the great Church of Notre Dame there by these means.†

But the Bishops of Rome abridged other Bishops of this power and made great complaints that, *by the indiscreet use of Indulgences by the Bishops, the Keys of the Church were contemned and the discipline lost;* so Innocent III. in the Lateran Council.‡ I wish the present Popes had regard to the like inconveniences still following their great profuseness in granting Indulgences, censured not only by their adversaries, but by the more sober of their own party, seeing clearly sordid lucre to have a great share in the conduct of them, and loose livers give the reins to their vices in expectation of those boundless pardons; whose excesses I leave for others to relate, and to be considered by such as see them.

Aquinas and Bonaventure relate that *there were some in the Church who said the invention of Indulgences was only by a pious fraud, to draw men to charitable acts, which otherwise they would not have performed; as a mother promiseth her child an apple to run abroad, which she never gives him when she hath brought him to do so.*§

* Vide *Morin. de Pœnit. lib.* 10, *cap.* 20, Bruxellis, 1685.

† *Maurice, Bishop of Paris.*—"Obiit Mauricius anno 1196 cum Episcopatui præfuisset an. 32 aut. 38. Ille est qui ingentem illam Cathed. Ecclesiam S. S. Virginis Deiparæ sacram a fundamentis construi curavit quique quatuor Abbatias in agro Parisiensi fundavit, extruxit, et donavit." It appears that Maurice was not in affluent circumstances. He begged and studied at Paris, and at length attained to the Episcopate. By what means then was this, and many other Cathedrals, built? By the piety and voluntary offerings of our ancestors? No, not so: the people were payiug for their pardons and all their Church privileges. "Proposita conferentibus nummolos in istas fabricas Pœnitentiarum partiali aut integra remissione. Hac spirituali industriâ tantam auri argentique summam collegit, (Mauritius) ut homo pauperrimus omnibus que bonis nudatus iis sumptibus ferendis par fuerit, quibus regiæ divitiæ non sufficerent." *Morinus* (ut supra) §. 8.

And these were the means, and this the process for the erection of Churches and Cathedrals, too often attributed solely to the piety of our forefathers!

‡ Concil. Lateran. sub. Innoc. III. *can.* 62, apud. *Concill. Studio Labbei*, tom xi. col. 215

§ Aquin. *supl. sum.* q. 25, art. 2, *conclus* ; Bonavent. in 4, *sent. dist.* 20, q. 6.

Durandus, a learned and sincere writer, confesses that *very little can be affirmed with any certainty concerning Indulgences because neither do the Scriptures speak expressly of them; and the Fathers* Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, Jerom, *treat not in the least about them.** John Major† adds that *though it be a negative argument, yet it is of force, because in the time of those Fathers they were very much skilled in* Scripture, *and it were very strange if Indulgences were to be found there, that they did not find them.* Add to this what Bellarmine says excellently, *that in things which depend on the will of God, nothing ought to be affirmed, unless God has revealed it in the Holy Scriptures.*‡—I conclude that the doctrine of Indulgences being not to be found in the Holy Scriptures, as now declared, you ought not to build upon it the hopes of your salvation; but endeavour *with fear and trembling* to secure it, by exact keeping of the commandments of God, and following the counsels of Christ towards a godly life and true repentance of your sins.

## 7. Public Prayer in an Unknown Language.

I will conclude this survey of *Romish* tenets with the *seventh* and *last point* proposed of their Latin Mass, and prohibiting their flock the reading of Holy Scripture. And as to the former, of having public prayers in a language generally unknown to the people, certainly the whole fourteenth chapter of St. Paul in his *first* Epistle to the Corinthians is clearly against it. For whatsoever may be cavilled touching the object of his discourse, his reasons evidently conclude our purpose, shewing with admirable arguments, and very apposite examples, how improper and absurd an undertaking it is to speak to a people in a language which they understand not, pretending to teach or edify them. The purpose of nature by speaking is, to communicate the sense of him who speaks to the hearer. But how can that be, if the hearer perceives not the meaning of the words spoken? *Even things without life* (says the great Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 7) *giving sound, whether harp or pipe, except they give a distinction in*

* Durand. in 4 *dist.* 20, q. 3. † Major ibid.
‡ Bellarm. *de amiss. gratiæ*, lib. 6, c. 3, *resp. ad object.* 6.

*the sound, how shall it be known what is piped or what is harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle? So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air.* If we were ourselves to frame a reason to make out our doctrine to the full, what other could we devise more apt and suitable to our design than this? Is not prayer ordained to raise up our minds to God? That phrase is wont to be given for the definition of it—*elevatio mentis in Deum*—a raising up of our minds to God to praise him or ask favours of him. Will it not be conducive and necessary, for this purpose to understand the signification of Psalms and Prayers wisely ordered to this end? To say *Amen* to a prayer which you do not understand, may seem like the setting your hand to a writing without knowing what it contains. What if a Jew, or other impious minister should say a prayer containing blasphemies against Christ, or curses of the Christian people present: must they say *Amen* to all? If a Persian, or one of some other nation, who never heard of such proceedings, should come into a Church and hear a congregation speaking loud, and see them making gestures, and should be told that none of them knew what the other was saying, would not he justly think them to be mad, and that the builders of the tower of Babel were there revived? St. Paul calls such a practice madness, laying it down that, in the Church, *all things ought to be done to edification* (1 Cor. xiv. 26.) But what edification can souls receive by the noise of words which they understand not, more than by the ring of bells? St. Augustine declares how absurd a thing it is to speak in a language which the hearer does not understand, in these terms: *Quid prodest locutionum integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur*—What profiteth any excellency of speech, if not understood by the hearer? there being no cause at all for speaking, if what we speak be not understood by them for whose sake we speak, that they may understand.* And to our purpose, we may, in like manner, ask,

* August. *de doctrin. Christ.* lib. 4, cap. 10.

What profiteth the admirable Providence and good order of the Church in distributing the select part and choice substance of Holy Scripture, upon the offices to be read in Churches throughout the year, if the people, whose edification is aimed at in such offices, do no understand the contents of them?

I shall desire such as are not resolved to be blind, and shut their eyes against light, and stop their ears to reason, that they would consider what advantages the Protestant people have for improving their souls, in this particular. They have the word of God clearly and intelligibly beaten into their ears daily in their Liturgy. The Psalms, Prayers, Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons of the Old and New Testament, most exactly distributed upon respective days and festivities, contain so much of heavenly wisdom and piety, as alone may suffice to make a well disposed soul, both holy and wise; and very hard must the heart be, that with such continual showers of heavenly doctrine, will not be mollified to piety and the fear of God. When the poor simple flock following the *Romish* Priest wants all these powerful helps to piety and virtue; their whole exercise of Religion (speaking of the vulgar, which is the far greater part) consisting in hearing a mass now and then, and not understanding a word of it (and very seldom hearing any explanation of it) they return home as wise as they went. I saw often some of their pious people extol the happiness of a few among them, who had knowledge enough of Latin to understand the word of God read before them, to the more elevating of their minds. Why will they not reflect upon the happiness of the children of the *Protestant* Church in this particular, as in many others, and open their eyes to see their own delusion?

Their leaders allege Antiquity for the practice of divine service in Latin. But Antiquity runs thus: in the Eastern Empire, the Liturgy was in Greek, because that was the Mother tongue in Constantinople, the Court and head city of that Empire. And inferior Provinces must endeavour to conform in public exercise both of Church and State, with the Court Language. In the Western Empire, the Liturgy was in Latin, because it was the Mother tongue in *Rome;* that was the Court and head of this Western part. And Rome under the Popes, pretending no less command in the Provinces of Europe than it had under Emperors,

must needs force all to conformity of language with itself, in the public worship of God; and exact more obedience in that point than the emperors did: for it was not for any privilege or sanctity conceived to be in the Greek and Latin tongue, that Liturgies were ordered in them; but because they were the languages more generally understood in both Empires. And therefore exceptions from that rule were granted to Provinces that could not conveniently observe it. So Pope John VIII. allowed to the Princes of Moravia to have their Liturgy in the Sclavonian tongue, because St. Paul says, *Let every tongue praise the Lord*, which was the reason given by the Pope in his letter, as related by Baronius.* And Walafridus Strabo tells † us, that in his time ‡ the Divine office was performed among the Scythians in the German tongue, which was common to them and the Germans. Nay, Origen affirms, that in the Primitive Churches, all public offices of religion were performed in the proper language of every country.§

## Scripture Prohibited.

And lest they should learn in their houses, what they cannot in their Churches, they are prohibited to read the Scriptures in their own tongues, without Licence under the hand of the Bishop or Inquisitor, by the advice of the Priest or Confessor attesting the person's fitness for it; and he who presumes to do otherwise is to be denied absolution. This is commanded in the *fourth* Rule of the Index published by order of the Council of Trent, and set forth by the authority of Pius IV. and since by Clement VIII. and lately enlarged by Alexander VII.‖ This is cruelty to souls, Christ declaring the word of God to be their food, (Matt. iv. 4); and Scripture itself so often inviting us to the reading of it. St.

* Baron. tom x. *anno.* 880, §. 19. † Strabo. *de re. Eccles.* c. 7.

‡ He died in 849. "Walafridus Strabo a vitio oculorum sic dictus, Abbas Augiæ divitis scripsit *De exordiis et incrementis rerum eccles.* librum utilem Coloniæ 1568, Romæ 1590 et alibi typis editum." *Miræi not. in Sigibert Gembl. de Scripp. Eccles.* §. 71.

§ Origen. *cont. Cels.* lib. 8, p. 402, Cantabr. 1677.

‖ Index *Lib. Prohib.* Alex. VII. Rom. an. 1665.—For a full account of the Indexes, the reader should have Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, 8vo. London, 1830.

Peter thus exhorts to it—*We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as to a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn,* (2 Pet. i. 19.) St. Paul commends to us the reading of Scripture, as *written for our instruction and comfort;* and as *able to make us wise unto salvation,* (Rom. 2. xv. 4; Tim. iii. 15.) St. Luke praises the inhabitants of Berea, *in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily,* (Acts. xvii. 11.)

The holy Fathers of the Primitive Church were of the same spirit in exhorting the faithful to the reading of Scripture for their comfort and direction. St. Clement for remedying a dissension which happened among the Corinthians, writes thus to them,* *Look diligently unto the Scriptures, which are the true Oracles of the Holy Ghost.* He adds after,† *Take St. Paul's Epistles into your hands and consider what he says;* and he praises them for being skilled in the Scriptures: *Beloved,* says he,‡ *ye have known, and very well known the Holy Scriptures, and ye have throughly looked into the Oracles of God; therefore call them to mind.* Of the same mind was Polycarp, Ignatius,§ and the other ancient Fathers. Clemens of Alexandria mentions the reading of the Scriptures among Christians before their meals, and Psalms and Hymns at them.‖

What makes the present Church of Rome so vigilant to the contrary, in keeping their flocks from reading the Scriptures? One reason they give, and another they keep to themselves: the reason they give is, that Heresies were wont to arise from the abuse of Scriptures. Be it so; but who were the abusers? Certainly Priests, Monks, and Friars more frequently; and of them the most learned. Turn to records, and you shall find it to be so. If then this argument proves anything, it will obtain the banishing of Scripture from among the learned, and out of all the world. Proving so much (which is too much) it proves nothing.

* Clement. *Epist. ad Corinth.* §. 45. † Ibid. §. 47. ‡ Ibid. §. 53.
§ Ignatii *Epist. ad Philad.* §. 9; Polycarp *Epist. ad Philip.* §. 12.
‖ Clement. Alex. *Strom.* lib. 7, cap. 7, §. 49. [There is a much better collection of testimony from the Fathers, and more satisfactory than some which Dr. Sall has adduced, in Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery,* p. 2, p. 198, edit. Oxford, 1836.]

Meat and drink are the ruin of many—shall they be banished therefore out of the world? No; let the creatures of God serve his servants, and let the abusers of them have their punishment in the very abuse they commit. Let this heavenly Lantern, which God set up in his house, the holy Church, to guide us in the dark ways of this life, shine for all Christians.

And that weak eyes may not be dazzled by the brightness of it, let this be the general rule for all, by which to read Scripture: where they find it clear let them embrace it devoutly, and frame their lives accordingly; where it appears obscure, let them humbly pray the Lord that he may help them with light to understand it, and wait patiently his pleasure for doing so. In the mean time they may be assured, that all necessary knowledge for faith in God, and to serve and praise him, is fully contained in what is clear of Scripture. So St. Augustine affirms: *In iis quæ aperte in Scripturâ posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.** Whereof St. Paul gives an ample testimony, saying, *The Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.* 2 Tim. iii. 15—17.

The holy Fathers agree with St. Paul in this his opinion of the profit of Scripture, for our spiritual instruction. St. Basil commends them "as the best remedy for all the passions of the mind."† St. Chrysostom, reflecting upon that great meekness of David, in letting Saul go free, when he had him at his will in the den, commends to all the memory of that example, saying, *It is impossible that a mind, conversant with this kind of histories, should be overcome with passions.*‡ St. Jerome says, *that infinite evils do arise from ignorance of the Scriptures. From hence most part of heresies have come; from hence a negligent and careless life, and unfruitful labours.*

The reasons given by Papists against reading of the Scriptures being thus confuted; would you know what reason they have and would keep to themselves? Very many say it is for keeping the

* August. *de doct. Christ.* lib. 2, cap. 9. † Basil. *in Psal.* 1.
‡ Chrysost. Homil. I. *de Davide et Saule.*

people blindfolded, that they may not discover the ignorance of their ministers, nor the corruption of their mysteries. It seems they have declared as much themselves, in a Council of Bishops met at Bologna,* for restoring the dignity of the Roman See, by order of Pope Julius III. The chief advice which they gave was, *That by all means as little of the Gospel as might be (especially in the vulgar tongue) should be read in the cities under his jurisdiction;* adding that book to have been the cause of that great decay of their former lustre, and concluding thus: *And in truth if any one diligently consider it, and compare it with what is done in our Churches, he will find them very contrary to each other; and our very doctrine not only to be different from it, but repugnant to it.* Thus God was pleased that they should discover their intention, and that it should be published for undeceiving those misled by them; as written by several grave authors, who, I suppose, would not publish it but upon sufficient ground. And is not this to exercise tyranny over souls?

### *Third Point.*

Now I will come to the *third* and last point proposed of my discourse, which is, to conclude from what is said hitherto, that the resolution which I took, of withdrawing from the Communion of the *Roman* Church, was just and necessary.

* Concil. *de stabiliend. Rom. fid.* p. 6; apud Stillingfleet's Work *on the Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, p. 201.

It has been very generally supposed that such a Council was really held, A.D. 1553; and resolutions, similar to what Dr. Sall has quoted, have been repeatedly cited as from it by Protestant writers, to shew the mind of the Church of Rome on various topics. But we believe it, from the style, to have been a bantering publication of Peter Paul Vergerio, the Romish Bishop of Capodistria, and afterwards a convert to the Reformed Church. The recommendations of this supposed Council may be perused in Brown's edition of the *Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiend.* vol. 2, p. 644; and therefore any reader may judge for himself. Crashaw considers it evidently a serious affair, though the very quotation made by Sall has quite the air of banter. It may be added that the title of this supposed assembly is *Consilium trium Episcoporum*, having a reference to the celebrated *advice* addressed by nine dignitaries of the Church of Rome to Paul III. in 1537, and to which the present piece of banter (for such the Editor is more and more disposed on reperusal to consider it) distinctly alludes, quite in character, near the beginning.

My whole discourse upon the text prefixed is but one Syllogism, whereof the major proposition is this: That if we should find a Church or Congregation convicted of Idolatry, Impiety, and Cruelty, in its public established practice, we are to forsake the Communion of it. This is the doctrine of our Saviour, contained in the words of our text, as appeared by the declaration and proof of it in the *first* point. The minor is, That I found the present *general* practice of the Roman Church convicted of Idolatry, Impiety, and Cruelty: the conclusion is, that the resolution I took of forsaking it was just and necessary. No Christian may deny the *major*, it being Christ's doctrine, as appears by our text. If the *minor* be true, no good logician may deny the conclusion. The truth of the *minor*, touching idolatry, seems to be sufficiently proved by what is said concerning the worship of the Eucharistical bread, and of Images; and with respect to Antichristian Impiety, by what is declared of their opposing, and preferring the Pope's laws to the law of God; making the Pope sole and supreme arbiter of God's law, giving him the attribute of Infallibility, proper to God alone; abrogating Christ's institution in the administration of the Eucharist of Communion, and establishing another contrary to it; bereaving Christ of the title of sole Saviour and hope of human kind, by calling the Virgin Mary their Saviouress and Hope; advancing the honour and worship of Saints beyond that of God, by dedicating more Churches and saying more prayers to them than to God.

Their cruelty in their conduct towards souls appears too much in what we have said of their bereaving the Christian people of the fruit of the blessed Sacrament of the altar, in their practice of half-communion; in depriving them of the benefit of their souls, having public divine service in a language not intelligible to them; and in suppressing their liberty of reading the word of God in his Holy Scriptures; their tyranny over princes, in deposing them from their crowns and dignities, and moving subjects to bear arms against them; their severity used with the *Irish* in pursuance of their pretension herein.

To this may be added their *tyranny over consciences*, in forcing them to the belief and defence of doctrines repugnant to their judgment and not established by Catholic faith, as may appear in their violence about forcing all to believe and declare for the

conception of the Virgin *Mary* without original sin; so many clear testimonies of Scripture being against it as affirm that all men sinned in Adam; that Christ was universal Redeemer from sin, and Saviour of all mankind; and not one word to be found in favour of the exception which they pretend for the Virgin *Mary*, besides their voluntary, and very often frivolous applications of texts, never intended by the author of them for their purpose. So whatsoever is said by Solomon of the Spouse in his Canticles, or Wisdom in his Proverbs, &c., which may seem to have some sound or cadency, suiting with their intention, is taken up for a sure oracle, declaring *the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.* But what strength is wanting to their text is supplied by force and art; two Orders being engaged for that quarrel in the Immaculate Conception; the one numerous among the people, and violent in stirring them to abuse the houses and the persons of their opposers; the other, prevalent with the Peers and Prelates, and with the Popes, to engage all in their quarrel; obtaining fearful excommunications against opposers of their doctrine by word or writing; ordering that in the Universities none may have degrees, in Churches none may preach, but such as will protest publicly for the Immaculate Conception; with many other violent measures used to extort such protestations: of which Protestants, how many do protest against what, in their minds, they judge to be truth God knoweth. For my part, I am slow in judging of men's thoughts; but I dare judge, that if their definitions with regard to other points controverted were formed on this manner, I am not obliged to take them for infallible.

What of their cruel censures of their fellow Christians, not subject to the Pope of *Rome*, excluding them and the rest of the human race not living in that communion, from all hopes of salvation; wherein they not only oppose truth, but belie their own principles, as was clearly made out in a treatise I was forced to pen some years ago, when being questioned by some of the nobility, whether one being baptized, knowing the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments and the creed, and endeavouring to live according to them, ready to believe what he understands to be true Catholic faith, guilty of no obstinacy in misbelieving any article of it—whether such an one may be saved, though he be not of the communion of the *Roman* Church:—I answered he

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might, and was truly a member of the Catholic Church, notwithstanding any name which the vulgar gave him; and having understood that I was censured for this doctrine in absence (though none opposed me in presence) I penned a treatise in Latin, wherein I demonstrated by evident testimonies of Scripture, Councils, Fathers, Authority of Divines, and declaration of Popes, that the doctrine which I delivered was Catholic Truth, and the contrary of it was heresy and blasphemy. Copies of this treatise were given to them of more authority and learning among the Romish clergy in this kingdom, and have been among them these three or four years, and none yet could shew in it any thing untrue, or ill-grounded; yet all conspired against the publishing of the said doctrine, as being prejudicial to the *Romish* cause, because it thence followed, that Protestants may be saved, and that many, called heretics, would not be such indeed. To which I answered that I found great convenience in those things which they represented to me as inconveniences, being heartily desirous that all men should be saved, and that of those called heretics none of all should be such in truth; and come what will of my answer, I cannot but answer the truth when I am questioned.

I replied to their complaints upon that ground with the words of Job, (xiii. 7.) *Will ye speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* Or, as the Latin text hath it,—*Num quid Deus indiget nostro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos—Does God need your lies, and that you should use cheats in his cause?* Surely he does not. And so I concluded it was not the cause of God or the good of souls which they were zealous about, but the grandeur of the Roman court, and their own pretensions with it; which I could not advance by telling lies, or concealing the truth. Let them smooth one another with those compliances, as those *Owls and Syrens* which Isaiah represents (xiii. 21, 22.) answering one another in the ruinous houses of Babylon—*Respondebunt ibi ululæ in ædibus ejus, et Sirenes in delubris voluptatis—Odious night birds and lewd Syrens keep correspondence in Babylon.** But the children of light and lovers of truth will not listen to their charms, nor yield to their cheats.

* [See the Latin Vulgate, and also Isaiah xxxiv. 14, of our Version.]

They deceive the simple with saying, That Protestants allow Papists may be saved; but Papists do not allow that Protestants may be saved; and thence conclude, that both parties approving of the Popish religion for a *sure way* to salvation, it is to be regarded as the most secure. But in neither do they say truth; for no learned Protestant *does* allow the Popish religion in general, and absolutely speaking, to be a secure way to salvation. For all agree in affirming that many of their tenets and practices are inconsistent with salvation, though ignorance may haply excuse many of the simple sort, but not such as know, or with due care and enquiry may know their error.

On the other side, all learned men of the Roman Church teach, that all Protestants baptized, and believing the common principles of the Christian Religion,—not convinced of any error against the Catholic faith, but supposing that they are following the truth of it—are not heretics, but members of the [true] Catholic Church; and so endeavouring to serve God, according to the rules of their belief, may be saved, as formerly declared. And it is a high point of rashness, and want of Christian charity, to judge of any particular person, without special ground that he does not live with that sincerity of mind and belief, that he is in the right. Such presumptuous censures are injurious to the goodness of God, and [they who indulge in them are] disturbers of human quiet.

For truly, if by reason of the diversity of tempers, abilities, education, and unavoidable prejudices, whereby men's understandings are variously formed and fashioned, they embrace several opinions, whereof some may be erroneous; to say that God will condemn them for such errors (they being lovers of truth and desirous to serve him) is to rob man of his comfort, and God of his goodness; in which rash proceeding the commonalty of the *Roman* party are, beyond all men, presumptuous and malignant; and their learned men who favour, and do not rebuke their malignity therein, may justly fear God's displeasure, and that Christ will disown them for followers of him, as devoid of charity —the chief mark which he gives of his disciples, saying, *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.*

Hereunto I may add the great tyranny and cruelty which they use to souls in the practice of Confession.* On the one side, they increase the rigour of it with additions of severity, obliging to such minute expression of the most loathsome circumstances of secret thoughts and deeds, as to render it the most heavy of Christian duties. And on the other side, they put so many stops to the execution of it, by reservation of cases not to be absolved, but by determinate persons, that it occasions lamentable perplexities of souls, and proceedings against the dictates of their conscience. Which cruelty is farther increased in many places, by the sordid avarice of their pastors, making poor souls believe that they may not confess but to their own Curates, and refusing to hear their Confession without receiving money for it. I will not be so unjust to the Roman Church, as to fasten this latter abuse upon the whole body of it, being but the fault of some corrupt members. I am not so malignant towards her as to throw the dirt of her feet in her face, whereas I would, if I could, wash away all her stains with the blood of my heart. But even her feet are so haughty, and such ill sufferers of correction, that when endeavouring to reform this abuse by intimating decrees of Councils and Popes against it, and representing the miscarriage of souls by it, I had no other fruit of my labour, but spite and hatred, for pretending to cure this malady; which, joined to many other experiences of their distemper being both incurable and contagious, I resolved upon this conclusion—*We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed;* FORSAKE HER.

But thou, O Father of Mercy, Lord Omnipotent, to whose power all creatures are subject, who canst hold in with bit and bridle such as will not approach to thee; forsake not that Church, nor any other congregation of men, redeemed by the precious blood of thy Son Jesus. Illuminate them all with the glorious beams of thy heavenly light; reduce them, by the powerful ties of thy grace, to perfect union in truth and charity, to serve and praise thee duly in this life, and join together in thy glory in life everlasting. Amen.

* On this subject, *The Roman Catholic Confessional Exposed* (Dublin, 1837) will shew the *modern* instruction and practice, in Ireland and England—profitably, it is hoped.

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# TRUE

# CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY ANDREW SALL, D.D.

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BEING A

A REPLY TO SEVERAL BOOKS PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAMES OF J. E.; N. N.; and J. S.

AGAINST HIS DECLARATION FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AND AGAINST THE MOTIVES FOR HIS SEPARATION FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH, DECLARED IN A PRINTED SERMON WHICH HE PREACHED IN DUBLIN.

*PSALM XXVII.* 1.

*One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the LORD, and to enquire in his temple.*

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Printed at the *Theatre*, in OXFORD, 1676.

*Imprimatur,*

*Rad. Bathurst,*

*Vice-Can. Oxon.*

*June* 23, 1676.

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY THE MOST HONOURABLE

ARTHUR EARL OF ESSEX, VISCOUNT MALDEN, BARON CAPEL OF HADHAM,

Lord Lieutenant, General, and General Governor of his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Hertford*, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

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My Lord,

Here I present to your Excellency a defence of the true Primitive and Catholic Apostolic Faith, maintained and professed in the Church of *England*, against the assaults of adversaries, so bold as to present the venom which they spit against it, one of them to a most illustrious person of the Court of *England*, another to the generality of the people, and a third to your Excellency, representative of our gracions Sovereign in *Ireland*. In this last, in a mockery like that of Judas betraying our Saviour with a kiss, while he endeavours to bereave your Excellency of the life of your soul, telling you* *that the Church of England, your Mother, is not the Church of Christ, nor any part of it; that no saint* (which is to say, that no just man, or true servant of God) *was ever of it; and that you cannot without blasphemy allege Scripture for your tenets;* with other like most insolent opprobriums—he stiles himself *Your Excellency's most humble and faithful* servant. He would have your Excellency burn the defenders of your Church, for offering to deny that we are all confessedly Schismatics.

When our adversaries are so bold and active, it is much our concern to watch and stand on our guard. I should prove undeserving the gracious protection and favour which I have from your Excellency, in enabling me to appear for the truth, if in this

* J. S. page 140 and 304.

exigency I deserted the defence of it. I will therefore, by God's holy assistance, betake me to the arms of his holy word, to resist the insulting, and detect the fraud of subtil and violent adversaries of the true Catholic Faith, appearing under the veil of defenders of it; and endeavour to shew with unfeigned, plain, and solid proofs, that the faith which we profess in the Reformed Church of *England* (in which many other illustrious nations join with us) is the true primitive Catholic Apostolic Faith, which our Saviour Jesus, and his sacred Apostles, taught and established on earth; that our adversaries branding us with Heresy and Schism, are themselves the prime cause of all the schisms and confusions which too long have vexed Christianity; and are guilty of as many heresies, as articles coined by them in after ages, which I hope we shall prove to be opposite, both to Canonical Scripture, and to the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Catholic and Apostolic Church. In which opposition certainly the true nature of Heresy doth consist; however they, to their own advantage, would make men believe, that the Pope's pleasure and decrees must be the rule of all, and that nothing is Heresy but what is opposite to *them*.

His pretended Infallibility, Supremacy, Vice-Godship, and such like high-sounding titles, (but empty, as here will appear) have frightened a great part of men to become slaves to him. The invention of Purgatory, Indulgences, Remissions, and other engines of lucre, have increased his means to maintain his usurped power. My work will be, to shew with plainness of reasons, suitable to the sincerity of my intention, and apposite to overthrow their sophistry, that the aforementioned tenets of the Romish faction, the fuel of all the combustions of Christendom, are not from above, conveyed by the Holy Ghost, but conceived in the mints of earthly passions: *for the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy*, (Jam. iii. 17.) Such is not the wisdom taught by the Roman Court, or Church, (if they will have it so called.) It is not *pure*, but corrupted with many pernicious errors, as will appear in this treatise. It is not *peaceable*, but contentious; not *easy to be intreated*, but obstinate against all reasonable overtures of peace, against the continual and ardent desire of all good

Christians for a Council truly Œcumenical and free, wherein the Roman Bishop and faction, as others, may sit with like freedom and indifferency, to judge, and to be judged, by the word of God, and Rules of Christian sincerity, as practised in those purer ages of Primitive Christianity. Nothing will satisfy them but a blind obedience, and entire submission to their will. Far are they from being *full of mercy;* their thoughts are not *of peace*, but of death and destruction to all Christians who will not be of their party.

All this I shall endeavour to demonstrate by a close and serious examination of the particulars conducing to its discovery; with no other design than the glory of God; with no prejudice or passion against the Roman Church, but with a hearty desire of the happiness of it: that, setting aside all profane policy, it may return to that primitive purity and lustre which it had, when *the Faith of it was praised throughout the whole world*, (Rom. i. 8;) and so join heart and hands with other Christians to their edification, and thereby to the conversion of Infidels, and to the increase and splendor of Christianity.

This being my real intention, as well as the hearty wish of all good men in the Reformed Churches, sure I am that my study and endeavours to this end will be protected and countenanced by your Excellency; whose happiness, eternal and temporal, is the hearty and continual prayer of

Your Excellency's most devoted

Servant and Chaplain,

ANDREW SALL.

# THE PREFACE.

St. John tells us (1 Epist. v. 19,) that *all the world lieth in wickedness*—that hatred, envy, malice, avarice, and ambition, are the most common practice of men. If so, who can expect a general approval of his actions, when exposed to public view? What deed, though in itself just and commendable, ever pleased a bitter enemy? What elegancy of speech, what strength of reasoning, could ever sound well in the ears of him whose cause they opposed? And if envy reign, could that black passion ever omit efforts to lessen the credit of such as were applauded? But if others pretend to be wits (now called so) it is not for them to suffer any action to pass without a censure; or without finding in it a flaw, at least, of a sinister intention. Men who judge in this way, can hardly look upon any action of another with a right eye. *When Nahash the Ammonite* reduced the inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead* to ask quarter, he refused to allow it to them, but on condition that he might *thrust out all their right eyes.* 1 Sam. xi. 2. So does the devil when possessing any man, says *Peter Blesensis;* he pulls out his right eye of charity and sincerity, and leaves him the left of envy and malice, inclined only to see or imagine defects.*

Men's imaginations are to actions of others as moulds to metals. The same metal, poured into a mould of an angel, will make an angel; and cast into the mould of the devil, will frame a devil. And, indeed, the metal before indifferent, thus ill figured, is revenged of the devilish mould, declaring by the shape which he wrought in it, the condition thereof: so honest and indifferent actions, denigrated by a malicious apprehension, betray the evil temper of the mind, which thus disfigured them. But if avarice and ambition, those ravenous and unmerciful passions, contribute their aid to blow the coals of hatred, envy, and malice, what fume

* *Hic est oculus eorum in universa terra, non dexter sed sinister.* Blesens. *Epist.* 14.—[Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, and afterwards of London, flourished about A.D. 1200. His works were collected and published at Paris 1667. Vide Oudin *de Scripp. Eccless.* tom ii. col. 1646.]

will they not raise to blast the reputation of the best and most laudable endeavours?

Wherefore he who puts himself willingly into the claws of these monsters, and seeks applause where such passions reign, regards little the quiet of his body or mind. He cannot enjoy himself, nor Christ, which is worse (says *Simon de Cassia**) who builds in the hearts of others: not himself, whilst he is a slave to so many masters as heads of men, each one more variable than the wind itself; nor Christ, St. Paul affirming, that *if he pleased men, he should not be the servant of Christ*, (Gal. i. 10.)

These considerations made me desire earnestly to spend the remnant of my days, retired and unknown, to prepare the better for the long day of eternity; which I resolved when first I entertained a thought of relinquishing the errors of my former profession, and adhering to the Evangelical doctrine of the Reformed Church. But it seems that Sovereign Providence, vigilant over all, was pleased to dispose otherwise of me. For whilst actually ordering my concerns for a voyage to the end aforesaid, it pleased God that a paper containing the reasons of my dissatisfaction with the Roman Church, by way of soliloquy with God (that by further prayer and consideration I might be certified of his holy will) dropped from me and fell into the hands of some of the Romish communion; who so incensed my former friends and relations against me, by a report that I was already become a Protestant Minister, as made them, out of a blind zeal, threaten to destroy me; not unlike those who, conspiring against St. Paul, *swore they would not eat nor drink until they had killed him*, (Acts. xxiii. 12.) Which being made known to the Lord-Archbishop, the mayor, and other English gentlemen of the city of *Cashel*, they bestirred themselves so generously to procure my safety, as may resemble that noble proceeding of the Roman Governor *Claudius Lysias* in defending Paul from the conspiracy of his brethren against him. They sent by several ways to seek

* *Non vivit sibi (et quod nequius est nec Christo) qui domificavit in cordibus aliorum.* Simon de Cassia, lib. 4, *de vita Salvatoris*, c. 2.—

[*Simon Fidatus de Cassia*, an Italian of the Augustinian Order, flourished about 1335. He died in 1348. "Extant libri xv. *Enarrat. Evang. Veritatis, seu de gestis D. Salvatoris* editia Colon. 1540." Wharton in Cave's *Hist. Lit. Appendix*, p. 35, edit. 1743.]

after me, and acquaint me of the danger I was in. They prepared a party to relieve me, if any violence should be offered me, and sent an officer of horse with other gentlemen by the way they understood I was to come, to bring me with security into the city, and prevail with me to go directly to the Lord-Archbishop's palace, to be under his protection; being not secure of my life in my former habitations.

From the place where I had this notice given to me, I wrote immediately to the nobleman from whose house I came, giving him an account of what had happened to me, and withal assuring him, that though necessity forced me to place myself under that protection, I would never declare against the Roman Church, whilst any hope was left of being satisfied in the doubts which I entertained, and had delivered, by writing, against several of its tenets and practices; which to one of my temper was not to be performed by vulgar cries, or empty pregnancies, but by solid and plain reasons, grounded upon the infallible word of God; such as I humbly conceived those reasons to be, which I proposed for motives of my discontent with the present practice of the Roman Church. And I desired him to declare so much, and communicate my letter to several persons of honour, his relations and my good friends, who had much experience of my sincerity and constancy, in asserting what I conceived to be truth on all occasions; that they, giving further notice of it, might direct to me any person or persons who should be thought fit to give me the satisfaction I desired.

Coming to *Cashel*, I sent a similar notice to the Vicar-General of the Romish Clergy there, desiring him that if any of their Bishops, or other Clergy intended to give me satisfaction to the reasons contained in my paper which was among them, they would appoint me a time and place of meeting, and they should find my heart and ears open to truth; being resolved to lose my life sooner than the true Catholic and Apostolic Faith, wheresoever I found it to be pure and uncorrupted.

I may truly say that neither did I leave any stone unmoved, nor omit any care or labour that I could imagine conducible for quieting my mind, and settling me in my former profession. No tree, after many years growth and deep rooting in a kind soil, was plucked up with more violence than I was brought from my

natural inclination and sensible comfort to forsake the society and communion of my former friends and brethren. Neither did they omit any diligence or industry to hinder my parting from them, and to recal me, after my separation; of both which things I will give here a brief and perfect account, for the manifestation of truth and the satisfaction of such as desire to know it.

The first return I had to my invitation before mentioned, to a trial of my reasons for being discontented with the Romish communion, was a letter from the Superior of the Jesuits in *Ireland*, dated 12th May, 1674, of the tenor following:—

*Dear Sir,*

*Being loath to give credit to the strange reports divulged here of you, I make bold to desire you to let me know whether you forsook the Catholic and do side with the Protestant Church: for all your best friends, chiefly I, can hardly believe that your wit and wisdom should be subject to such inconstancy, unless perhaps by some melancholy fit, or some other distemper, proceeding from I know not what discontent or jealousy conceived against me, or any other of those you know. If any such thing there be, I humbly beg of you to acquaint me therewith by your letter commended to the post office in Dundalk; and do engage my word to you, that you shall have all satisfaction imaginable that lieth in my power, and that you shall find me always ready to render you any service that may be expected from,*

*Loving Sir,*

*Your ever assured*

*JOHN FREE, alias S. R.*

To this letter I answered immediately in terms of no less kindness and sincere amity; that I did, and would declare, wheresoever he was concerned, that neither he nor any other of his society ever gave me any discontent, which might be the cause of the resolution in which I was engaged; that my dissatisfaction was of a higher nature, and that it was a great error to imagine that any dislike of particular persons should work in me an alteration of this kind, it being well known how easily I might remedy any discontents in *Ireland*, by repairing to the place of my former habitation and employments in *Spain*, and how good

a reception I might expect there, even in that season; as to him was well known.

This letter being miscarried, or not reaching him (as he signified) before my Declaration made at *Cashel*, (after many days retirement and serious consideration of the matter, and no hope appearing of receiving satisfaction to my scruples) he wrote another Letter to me, of the 16th of June following; repeating the same expressions of fear, that either he or some of his brethren, might have given me some discontent to occasion my change; and desiring that if any such had happened, I might give him notice thereof, *that I may give you* (said he) *any satisfaction possible, and that union at least of Christianity, if not of Religion,* may remain entire among us.* He desired further that I would consider seriously *unde et quo*—whence and whither I was going, and what great inconveniences might follow.

To this letter also I answered immediately, repeating my former assurances given to him, of no injury or discontent received from him or any of his society, as a cause or occasion of my change; and that I did heartily embrace his offer of maintaining unity of Christianity among us, if not of Religion, which was my own constant inclination and hearty desire. As for considering *unde et quo*—whence and whither I was going, that I did consider it with prayer and study of many years, and that the grounds of my resolution thereupon would soon appear in public: and I desired he should prevail with some able men of his fraternity to reply to them with that gravity and modesty which becomes learned and religious men; that on both sides we might concur in our studies, to the glory of God and manifestation of his truth; setting aside all wonted acerbities, which, if used, would confirm me, and all men of good judgment, in a dislike of their way and spirit.

Soon after, on my arrival in *Dublin*, he sent another letter to me, of the 24th of *June*, with a message by word of mouth, by a gentleman of my relation, earnestly craving the opportunity of a private conference with me; with an offer, made by an said gentleman, of all favour and assistance if I would desist, even

* Is Christianity then *not* religion? We thought it had been the ancient Catholic faith. This is a very curious and somewhat significant distinction from a Romanist.—Ed.

then, from proceeding in my resolution; and desired I would signify, either in private or in public, the reasons of my discontent with them. To this I answered, that I conceived some inconveniences in private conferences on that occasion, and expected no quiet of mind from them; that the case being already public, I judged the handling of it in public to be more expedient both for the service of God and my particular satisfaction, the matter going through a more exact trial in that way; and consequently I proceeded, declaring in a Sermon preached a few days after, to a very great and noble auditory in *Christ's Church* of *Dublin*, the reasons of my discontent with the present practice of the Roman Church, in such moderate terms, as may be seen in the same Sermon, printed, and extant in the hands of many,* desiring to be answered with the same moderation and formal style, setting aside satyrical and scurrilous libels, to which I was not willing to afford any either reading or answer. And long it was before I heard of any serious reply made to my proposals; but silly libels of this latter kind, which the sober sort of their own party thought unworthy to be published, and I thought them to be as little worth my regard. In the mean time, having taken my dwelling, since my coming to Dublin, in Trinity College near it, and that University being pleased to have me incorporated with it, in the quality of Doctor in Divinity, at the performance of acts usual to such a degree, I published a divinity thesis, directly intended for a justification of my resolution taken, by a strict enquiry and examination of it in a public dispute; and containing to that purpose, two conclusions touching the main points of our controversy, to which all the rest may be reduced:—

1. The *first* was,—*That out of the Roman Church there is a safe way for Salvation.*

2. The *second*,—*That the way of the Church of England is safer to Salvation than that of the Church of Rome.*

By the former I intended to justify my constant and continual aversion to that horrid and arrogant position of the Romanists, that out of their community there is no salvation—the fountain of so many bloody tragedies, and unchristian animosities, which have been the disgrace and destruction of the Christian Church

* Vide the same Sermon prefixed to this treatise.

for these many years. By the *second*, I proposed to justify the election which I made of the Church of *England*, as the more sure way to salvation; each one being obliged by the law of that charity which every one owes to himself, to take the way that he conceives to be most secure, in a matter of so high a consequence.

To these conclusions I invited seriously and earnestly all manner of persons, having obtained free license for them to come and argue, from the Lord Primate our Vice-Chancellor, and from the other heads of the University concerned, as may appear by the letter following, which I wrote, with the thesis enclosed, to a certain learned Doctor of the Romish Communion.

*Honoured Doctor,*

*In pursuance of my earnest desire to discover the truth in the matter of greatest concern, by all the ways I could think expedient for it, I am to defend, by public disputation, next Thursday, in the Chapel of this College, the Thesis I send to you enclosed here in performance of my promise. I signified to my Lord Primate, to the Provost of the College, and the Moderator of the disputes, my desire that any learned man, of whatsoever condition, might be permitted to oppose; and they all granted my request, it being not the custom of the Church and Universities of* England *and* Ireland *to keep their people from reading and hearing the reasons of their adversaries as elsewhere you know it is. And as* Suarez, *and* Bellarmine, *and others the ablest defenders of the Roman cause, are here read with due regard to their learning, so any learned man will be welcome to our disputes; and in his good behaviour will have a sure warrant of his indemnity for what he shall say against us by Scripture and reason. And where the answer may seem deficient, he may with confidence go on with*—contra sic argumentor, *by that modest and clean way of the schools. But if his reply should be some foul words or rudeness, though I have resolved to pass over that kind of opposition, I may not assure him that the audience here (which is to be very illustrious and learned) may bear it. I heartily pray to God, that he may send us all grace to seek after, sincerely, and happily find out, the true way of serving and praising him. And so I rest,*

*Sir,*

*Your sincere friend to serve you,*

ANDREW SALL.

Upon this invitation, the said Doctor, with some others of the Romish Communion, came to our disputes; but for reasons to them best known, they resolved not to oppose in that public manner; neither did we, by their defaults, want learned and able opposers: for several of our own Doctors of Divinity and Masters of Arts, members of this University, well furnished with skill in controversies, and the best arguments our adversaries have, proposed them vigorously upon the chief points controverted, reducible to the heads which I proposed for Thesis; and by vote, even of the Romish auditors present, they were not wanting to the duty of able disputants. Nor could I understand that any missed of a satisfactory answer to the arguments used, which were many; and all in the presence of the most Reverend Father in God, *James*, Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, Primate of all Ireland, our Vice-Chancellor; and of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Bishop of *Kildare*, the Lord Bishop of *Ossory*, the Lord Bishop of *Killalo;* and of a very great and flourishing number of learned men, both of the clergy and gentry.

This trial being over, my great longing was for a serious and well considered reply to my reasons proposed in print; which by that way might be performed, without pretence of fear or want of liberty. Long was I in expectation; when at last came out a shower of books against me, one upon the back of another. The first that appeared upon the stage was J. E., a fit person to break the ice, a rough trotter, with a book of a small bulk and less sense, bearing a thundering title—

A Sovereign Counterpoison *prepared by a faithful hand for the speedy reviviscence of* Andrew Sall, *a late Sacrilegious Apostate.* The rest of the title page was bestowed in magnifying the force of that book—*to inform the ignorant, to resolve the wavering, and to confirm the constant well-principled Roman Catholic.*

Under so magnificent a title, who would not expect a strong and formal answer to my arguments against the Pope's Infallibility, Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Indulgences, and other tenets of the Romish Church, which I took in hand to confute? But instead of this he presented to his reader two or three (we may call) common-places, dropped from a student of some College:—

1. Of the happiness of the restoration of the soul of man.
2. Of the true essence of the Divine Faith.
3. Of the happiness of the Christian Religion.

And thence, without the least attempt of applying those documents (which he *so* calls) to any purpose, he falls abruptly to railing, in the rest of his book, at the Church of *England*, and at those whom he conceived to concur in my conversion to it, in such a rude and raving style, as to all judicious men he seemed to be stark mad, and unworthy of any regard or answer; and that I understand to be the opinion of sober men of his own party. But towards my person his terms are so heterogeneous, as may resemble a monster composed of a syren and a tiger; extravagantly extolling me above the skies for what I was before, and depressing me under the abyss for what I am at present; now calling me sacrilegious apostate, and now *dear* Andrew, *sweet* Andrew, and what not.

With what propriety his book may be called a *Counterpoison* I know not; if it be not that the commendations which he bestows upon me in one place, may be an antidote against the venom that he and his fellow railers spit against me in others. "*You have* been heretofore (says he) known and counted a Philosopher, both by words and deeds; you spoke great things and did likewise practise them;" and after, (p. 27) "Before, you were *vir Apostolicus*—a most resplendent star in the firmament of the true Church; a religious Priest, conferring life of grace on others; called by the hand of God to a most high and sovereign dignity and honour; before, a chaste and Evangelical Missioner, raised from a *Sall* to be a *Paul*, a Preacher of the Word and Penance. Now, turned to be *Saul*, persecuting and warring in a most furious manner against the heavenly fortress of true faith, *become a wretched, lying, and vile Protestant, plunged in all vices contrary to those former virtues*;"—not to repeat more of his dirty terms.

A grave and honourable Prelate, reading this strange contraposition, replied, they were beholden to him for giving so good an account of what I was before; but needed not his information for what I am now, themselves knowing *that* better. And this egregious writer, being questioned in a private conversation, with what truth he could say that I was become so debauched since I

came to the Reformed Church, living all that time very abstemiously and retired in Trinity College, *Dublin*, and in a good repute with those who associated with me? answered—"That he never meant that I should be really guilty of those vices, but in a metaphorical sense;* that the Church of *England* being a harlot, I, embracing the communion of it, became guilty of a spiritual uncleanness, and all those vices which he mentions." He cannot deny that I know this to have been his answer. We thought that such equivocations and mental windings existed only among the prime politicians of that party; but when we find them in one so simple as Mr. J. E.'s book shews him to be, the sickness seems to be very far spread among them. Well contented he would be that his proselytes should understand I could be really guilty of the debauchery of which he speaks; but if he be brought to a test, he is provided with the reserve aforesaid to escape by.

This specimen which I have given of the man's genius, will, I presume, quit me, in good judgments, of all obligations to further regard of what he says to me; but I will not discharge myself of the duty of defending the Church of *England* against his barbarous injuries and calumnies, which I will perform (God willing) in the whole discourse of this Treatise, resolving the objections of others, and with some reflections, at the end, upon part of his peculiar extravagancies; to let the world know how different the Church of *England* is for piety and learning, from what his malice would make his blind flock believe of it.

The next book of those published against me that came to my hand, was one entitled the *Bleeding Iphigenia*, by way of Preface to another greater preparing, which soon after appeared under the title of *The Doleful Fall of Andrew Sall*, &c.; † both

* He simply employed the figure Prosopopœia, common with *these* Rhetoricians. Vide *Baxter's Key;* Note † p. 212.—EDIT. 1839.

† The remainder of the title is *of* ANDREW SALL, *a Jesuit of the fourth vow, lamented by his constant friend:* Douai, 1674.—This Tract, written by Nicholas French, R. C. Bp. of Ferns, is of no particular value, except as connected with Dr. Sall. Still from its rarity the price of ten guineas has been recently affixed to it in a Bookseller's Catalogue; and several quotations have been made in the Roman Catholic publication called the *Catholicon*, vol. V. pp. 85—93. London, 1818; from which we learn that Dr. Sall was induced, (according to the statement of this writer at least,) by the arguments of Dr. *Whitaker*, Professor of

written by a grave and ancient Prelate of my acquaintance in *Spain;* who, in both of them, dolefully laments a supposed fall of mine from the Catholic faith into Heresy, and enlarges in magnifying the virtues and learning of the prime Fathers and Doctors of the Church, whose company he says I have forsaken; and exclaims against the errors and vices of many Heretics, whom he mentions, drawing their pedigree down from Cain; whose society he says I have embraced; and concludes, conjuring me by all that is holy and precious on earth and in heaven, that when the last visit of God comes upon me, I may be found a true professor of the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Faith.

The good will and pious intention of this Prelate I truly love and honour; and accordingly will endeavour to satisfy him in sober, serious, and sincere terms.

If it were so indeed, as he supposes, that I should have fallen from the Holy Catholic Apostolic Faith, I should be the most unhappy, and worthy to be lamented of all men; but I am certainly persuaded that I have rather fastened myself to it by the change which I have made: and I hope shall make it appear so, to all unbiassed men, in the progress of this book. And to his request that I may be found a true professor of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Faith; I promise him faithfully, it shall be my constant and inflexible resolution to hold that faith to the end of my life, wheresoever it be uncorruptly professed, whether in *Rome* or *Jerusalem*, or elsewhere: I know it is not tied to places. And

Theology at Cambridge, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to leave the Church of Rome: vide Whitaker's *Disputat. de Scrip. contra Bellarminum, controv.* 1 *quæst.* 5, *cap.* 8, which appears to be the portion alluded to; or, *Quæstio* 3. See also Episcopii *Resp. ad Epist. P. Wadingi de Regula fidei*, cap. 5.

Peter Walsh, to whom the titular of Ferns had sent this book, remarks upon it thus:—"I must confess, that when I read it, I was very unwilling to let him know what I thought of a book, which represented the Church of *England*, as partaking with all the sects, that ever had been from the *Cainists* to the Quakers; nay, as leading undoubtedly all her children, all her members, both Priests and people, without exception of any, to the eternal woes of Hell; even damning them all for a long eternity to the life of devils in the other world. For so does that book, written by occasion of this good Bishop's old acquaintance, the said Andrew Sall, having deserted the Jesuits' Order, and Roman Catholic Church, to make himself a member of the Protestant Church of England, as he did." *Four Letters, on several subjects, to persons of quality*, by Peter Walsh, of St. Francis's Order; 12mo. 1686, *Preface.*

in truth of the sincerity of my heart, I say to God in the words of holy *David*, which I have put for a motto in the frontispiece of this work—*One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to enquire in his temple.* Psalm xxvii. 4.

This desire appeared early in me, having betaken myself in my younger years to that course of life, which I conceived to be most expedient to come to God, and dwell in his house, by the strict practice of piety and learning, secluded from the world in a society of great reputation for both. And in that course I persevered, whilst that apprehension lasted; but having discovered errors therein opposite to the Primitive Catholic and Apostolic Faith leading to the house of God, and finding by serious and due considerations, the same true Faith to be professed uncorruptly in the Reformed Church of *England*, I did constantly resolve to embrace it, in prosecution of my aforesaid professed design of dwelling in the house of God—I mean, in the true Catholic Apostolic Church. And as no human force or industry could win me to this change, without a strong interior motion and full persuasion of being in the right; so all arts and endeavours, by terrors or allurements, are vain to recal me: this interior persuasion persisting, and which I find rather confirmed than weakened, by all industry hitherto used to draw me from it; as I hope will appear to the dispassionate reader, by the sincerity of my discourses in this treatise.

The fourth and last book of those published against me, which came to my hands, was one of J. S. bearing title *The Unerring Unerrable Church*. Whosoever this said J. S. be, if we measure him by his conceit of himself,—his contempt of his adversaries,—his boast of his arguments for unanswerable, and the vaunts of his friends in his behalf for matchless, certainly he is the *Goliah* of their *camp*—of gigantic stature among them. I was not a little joyed to find a person, of such great repute and trust, engaged in answering my arguments. If I find it easy to render void his answers, and to confute his arguments, then may I expect to be at full quiet in my persuasion, and immoveable against all their oppositions; whereof the prudent reader will judge after he has viewed our encounter.

And whereas the main strength of this combatant lies in his calumnies and impostures, wherewith he besets thick the front or preface of his book, I will in this place remove that engine. In order to lessen the weight of my arguments with a great number of readers, who rely much upon the credit of the writer, he will, he says, strip me of those titles which my public employments for many years have given me; and with a kind of power never heard of before, will make out that I should not have been what I really was, to the knowledge of many thousands of men now living. Finding me stiled *Professor of Controversies*, in the *Irish* College of *Salamanca*, he says resolutely that no Controversies were taught in that College for these forty years; in which venture he has been so unlucky, that several persons of honour in *Ireland*, who have been in *Spain*, and know the language of it, saw an instrument in Spanish, yet extant in my keeping, of the Inquisitor General of *Spain*, giving me licence for having and keeping prohibited books upon the very account of being *Professor* of Controversies in the aforesaid College, after the tenor following:—

*En la villa de Madrid a* 15. *de Junio*, 1652, *&c.*

*En la villa de Madrid a quinze dias delmes de Junis de mily sciscientios y cinquenta, y dos annos. El Illustrissimo y Reverendissimo Sennor Obispo de Palentia Inquisidor General en los Reynos y Sennorios de su Majestad y de su consejo &c. dio Licentia al P. Andres Salo de la compania de Jesus, Rector del Collegio de Irlandezes de Salamanca, y Lector en el de la catedra de Controversias contra Herejes, paraque por tiempo de un anno, que comience a correr y contarse desde oi, dia de la fecha, pueda tener, y leer libros prohibidos para el efecto de escrivir y imprimir, y dar ala estampa qual quier libro o tratado, y le encargò, que si hallare en algun libro antiguo, o moderno, alguna proposition censurable, no comprehendida en el expurgatorio, compliendo con suobligacion, lo advierta y de cuenta dello a su Sennoria Illustrissima o al consejo por lo que importa al servicio de dios nuestro Sennor. De lo qual testifico yo el infra escrito secretario de camara de su Sennoria Illustrissima.*

*EL LDO. PEDRO LOPEZ DE BRINNAS.*

And at the bottom of the leaf, on the left hand corner, are written these words, *assentada a fol.* 138; which is to say, set

down page 138, I suppose of the book where Licences given were enrolled, to prevent the using of suppositious ones. Thither I refer Mr. S. if he doubts of the legality of this Instrument. The aforecited Instrument rendered into English, runs thus:—

In the town of Madrid, the 15th. day of the month of June, 1652, the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Bishop of *Palencia*, Inquisitor-General in the kingdoms and dominions of his Majesty, and of his Council &c. gave Licence to Father *Andrew Sall* of the Society of Jesus, Rector of the Irish College of *Salamanca*, and reader in it of the Chair of Controversies against Heretics, that for the time of one year, which shall begin to run and be counted from this day of the date hereof, he may keep and read prohibited books, for the purpose of writing, printing, or publishing any books or treatises, and hath charged him, that if he find in any book, ancient or modern, any censurable proposition, not comprehended in the Expurgatory, complying with his duty, he shall advertize and give notice of it to his Grace, or to the Council, for the importance of it to the service of our Lord God, of which I certify the undernamed Secretary of the Cabinet to his Grace.

LICENTIAT PETER LOPEZ DE BRINNAS.

For each one of the three years I was in that office, a similar instrument was sent me, and each of the said years my name was enrolled in the Matricle or public books of that University, for Rector of the said College of it, and Reader of Controversies. Mr. J. S. may go thither, and see himself to his shame found to be a liar. The same shame he shall meet with for saying that I never was a Reader of Moral Theology in the Royal College of the Society in that University. The Superiors and Lectors of the said College in the year aforesaid, and my auditors, which were a chief part of the students of divinity of the Jesuits in that province of *Castile*, will be, on a trial, witnesses of the profligate boldness and imposture of J. S. Let several Jesuits now living in *Ireland*, who at that time were students of divinity in the aforesaid College of *Salamanca*, and saw me sit with the other Divinity Professors, examining yearly their sufficiency for promotion, and were examined by me—let them, I say, be put to

their oath, and if they will not forfeit their ears by the law of this land for perjury, they must testify against J. S. and his impostures.

Finding me stiled Professor of Divinity in *Pamplona*, *Palentia*, and *Tudela*, he says that there is not, nor was at any time, Divinity taught in the Colleges of *Palentia* and *Tudela;* and he may as well say, in some places of *Spain*, that there is no such thing as a Lecture in Divinity in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*. With some whom he may meet in that part of the world, who could not contradict him it would serve; and haply it is so with him now where he is. To some of his familiars he may commend his saying; but to expose it to public view in print, shews clearly that passion has so blinded him as that he cannot see his shame: for certainly it would appear no less insolent in *Palentia* or *Tudela* to say that there is not, nor was any time, a Lecture of Divinity in those Colleges, than if you should say in *Oxford* or *Cambridge* so much of those Universities. A numerous congregation of Priests and Students of Divinity to be priested, of those two great and famous cities and of the country about, who were my auditors, will cry out against such a blind and bold writer, who has no regard to truth in what he says.

He allows me the honour of having been Reader of Divinity in the College of *Pamplona;* which is no small wonder, *that* being one of the most famous and flourishing Colleges which the Jesuits had in *Spain;* and consequently to his purpose declared in order to rob me of that credit, as he may do with the same ground that he did with the rest, that is to say, with only his bold assertion or fiction, without any proof alleged. But he does it to bring upon me a greater discredit, telling his reader that if they have been contented with me, I might have continued longer in that employment; and this we must take upon his credit, though a convicted bankrupt in truth. But how shall I refute him at this distance from those men? and in the present difficulty of getting their testimony in my favour? I admire and praise God's Providence in putting into my hands abundant evidences to repulse the spiteful attempt of this virulent adversary. I will, to his confusion, produce here two testimonies which may suffice for many; the one of a Prelate, the other of a Prince. The former is of a grave and aged Bishop, then supplicating to the Provincial of *Castile* for my continuance at *Pamplona*, by a letter of the tenor following:—

*Admodum Reverendo in Christo Patri Martino de Lesaun, Castellanæ Provinciæ Societatis Jesu præposito Provinciali.*

Admodum Rde. in Christo Pater.

*Capiens per ultimum tabellarium rumorem de P. Salo brevi inde abituro jussione tua, in mentem venit quod dixit Job,* Venit mihi timor quem tim ebam: *vix enim quidpiam præter peccatum in Deum meum et cladem Religionis et patriæ plus timendum censui aut dolendum, quam imperium de ejus migratione. Cur, pater colendissime, scholam Pampelonensem Magistro tam claro, populum Ecclesiastum, Principes et Magnates regni Consiliario in foro Conscientiæ, et me præsulem afflictum et mœrentissimum, ac gementem in exilio, spolias unico meo solatio? Quid aliis nostro incommodo bonus esse vis? Sed haud dubio ibi subditum tuum vivere malis, ubi Deo melius famulans proximo poterit magis prodesse? Si ita est, relinque illum Pampelonæ, ubi hactenus præter obsequia societatis occasione mutuæ inter nos consuetudinis (dum ibi vixerim) multum profuit patriæ suæ in spiritualibus, ut modo fit literarum colloquio. Muta igitur obsecro sententiam tuam pro majori bono animarum, et* Salum *(ut mecum allaborans multis sternat viam salutis) indulge paulisper mihi et patriæ suæ, et spondeo fore ut te non peniteat tam sancti consilii. Multa, si expediret omnia pandere, offerre possum, quæ monere possent Reverendissimam paternitatem tuam manibus et pedibus ire in meam sententiam. Expectans benignum responsum tuum, deosculor sacratas manus.*

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis tuæ

Amantissimus in Christo servus,

NICHOL. EPISCOPUS FERNENSIS.

For the advantage of those who do not understand Latin the above is thus rendered into English.

To the Right Rev. Father in Christ *Martin de Lezaun*, Provincial Superior of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Castile.

Right Rev. Father in Christ,

Understanding by the last post, that Father *Sall* is to remove shortly from that city by your orders, *Job's* saying comes to my mind, *The thing which I greatly feared is come upon me.* For certainly besides my sins against my God, and ruin of my country and Religion, I could hardly conceive anything more to be feared and grieved by me, than the order of his departure. Why, most Reverend Father, will you deprive the schools of

*Pamplona* of so famous a Master, the people of a preacher, the Princes and Peers of the kingdom of a Councillor in matters of Conscience, and me, an afflicted sad Prelate groaning in banishment of my only comfort? Why will you be good to others at our loss? But doubtless you will have your subject to be, where serving God better, he may be more beneficial to his brethren: if so, leave him at *Pamplona*, where, hitherto, besides the functions of the Society, by occasion of our mutual communication while I lived in the city, he has done much good to his country in their spiritual concernments, as now is done by exchange of Letters. Alter your opinion, therefore, I beseech you, for the greater good of souls, and lend *Sall* for a while to me and to his country, and I promise you that you shall not repent of so good a resolution. If it were convenient to discover all, I could allege many things which would induce your Reverend Paternity to a free and full consent to my proposal. Expecting your favourable answer, I kiss your sacred hands.

*Your most Reverend Paternity's*
*most affectionate Servant in Christ,*
NICHOL. BISHOP OF FERNES.

The author of this letter is yet living where Mr. S. may come to him and be certified of the case. And though he be among my present antagonists, I know he has so much of truth and honesty in him, as not to deny his writing; for even now he confesses that his opinion of me, and the opinion of all who knew me, was conformable to what that letter represents, whatsoever may be the issue of our present controversies.

The second testimony I have to be produced here, more public and full to this purpose, is that of the Earl of *S. Stephen*, General of the Spanish army in *Castile*, Viceroy, and Captain General first of the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, then of *Navarre*, and last of *Peru;* a Prince of as great repute for his learning and piety, as for his government of kingdoms and arms. Being Viceroy of *Navarre*, and resident in *Pamplona*, metropolis of that kingdom, all the the time I was there teaching Philosophy and Divinity; and being often present at my public functions, as well of moderating disputes in the schools, as of preaching in Churches; and moreover having been pleased to render me very familiar

with himself, for his direction and consultation in matters belonging to my profession and calling: at last delivered his opinion of me for teaching, preaching, and behaviour, in an Eulogy inserted among others, of men whom he honoured of his age and would have to live in the memory of posterity, in a book of his works presented by his two sons to Pope Alexander VII., entitled, *Horæ successivæ Didaci Benavidii* comitis St. Stephani Proregis Navarræ*, &c., and printed at *Lyons* in *France* in the year 1660. In page 278 of the said book, he has this Elogium respecting me.

RDO. P. ANDREÆ SALO
*Hiberno Societatis Jesu*
Elogium

Dignus Famâ, et familiâ Ignatianâ
Vir,
Hibernus patriâ, et Vernans literis.
Superasti Hæreseos Pelagi, ac
Mortalitatis sævientes
Procellas
In Religionis tutum
Sinum Traductus.
Salo, Sales, Sapientiam
Cognomentum, Verba, Mens,
Promunt.
Patriæ calamitatibus, et Calamo notus.
A natalitiis oris, ore cum Nestoreo
Ad Hispanas Scholas accessisti.
Inservisti etiam sacrâ Eloquentiâ rostris.
Et, quod mirum,
De Cœlesti Patria non Patrio sermone
Sed Hispano elegantissimè
Perorasti.
Vere peregrinus sermo à Peregrino!
Ac dum te auribus usurpo,
Quà dissertatorem Scholasticum,
Quà Cœli Oraculorum interpretem,
Hinc me sagatum acuminibus
Armas,

* [Vide Antonio, *Biblioth, Hisp. Novae*, tom 1, p. 270.]

Hinc me togatum divinis
Legibus instruis.
Quod magis
In tuis literis sine litura
Mores suspicio.
Desinis esse Ibernus, factus Iber:
Desinis esse Iber, IESU assecla
Factus.
Hoc cautum ut habeas
Volo:
Te exemplo amare,
Quem meus amat
Calamus.

I forbear turning these words into English, both for the insufficiency I find in me for keeping their elegancy * in the translation, and for my unwillingness of delivering in words of my own, Eulogies whereof I acknowledge myself most unworthy, and which I could not behold without confusion. The book was sent to me, by the Bishop of *Pamplona*, to be examined before it was printed, as the custom there is; and so bears my censure and approbation of it in the beginning. But the aforesaid eulogy was then concealed from me, and inserted among the rest, after the copy went out of my hands: and truly I was surprised, and in no small confusion on finding it in the book after it was printed. But I perceive that God's great providence, foreseeing the present malignant attempt of my adversary upon my credit, was pleased to have this antidote prepared against his venom.

I hope the judicious reader will not ascribe to any appetite of vain glory my exhibiting of the aforesaid testimonies, to which the just and necessary defence of my credit forced me. And whereas my adversary is so bold as to appeal, even to the Protestant reader, for justifying his attempt to rob me of the titles given me, with a confessed design of thereby weakening my cause and neutralizing my arguments with the vulgar, I adopt the same appeal, and desire the same reader to judge, whether it be right or reason that I should desert his cause and mine, in this

* We doubt if the reader will agree in this commendation—the lines appear to be laboured and extravagant.

exigency. Shall we suffer their insolent and presumptuous vaunt to run unchecked, wherewith they blind the simple, saying that no man of understanding or honesty can leave their Church for the Reformed; that both religion and learning have fixed their tents among them, so as *out* of *their* society neither may be found; that the dullest wits, coming to them, are illuminated and refined; and the most sublime, by leaving their communion, become blinded and stupified!

This robber of titles certainly shall meet with something, in his encounter with me, that will trouble him more than those epithets of Professor and Rector. Many Professors of Divinity and Rectors of Colleges have I known (without any great presumption I may say it) who, in debates of this kind, could not put their opposers into such straits as J. S. is likely to find himself in, on the trial of his book now to be taken in hand. But seeing he conceives that those callings may add force to my arguments with some readers, I will defend them in spite of his malice, and endeavour to forward the truth of God, by all that is mine of right.

And if that be true which, to give more credit to this calumny, some of his party report, saying that the author of it is a Jesuit of my acquaintance in Spain; if so, I say, his guilt is heinously aggravated thereby; as shewing him to be a formal and wilful impostor, with certain knowledge of the untruth of what he asserts; he having been a Master of a Grammar-school in one of those Colleges where I was Professor of Divinity, and where he says Divinity was never taught; and knowing certainly that I had all those employments, which he denies I should have had; for which cause several of the Romish Clergy and laity in *Ireland*, who know the same, have detested the impudence of this man, in denying a thing so publicly known.

I could not but imagine that same person, capable himself of so desperate a folly as to take upon him fictitious titles, should be author of this rude calumny; for men's apprehensions of others are commonly a testimony of their own temper, as is observed in the beginning of this preface.* And if the said Jesuit be

* Mr. Berington, the Roman Catholic Priest, stated that he "*would not walk in a dark evening with a man who charged him wrongfully.*" "Alas! Sir," exclaimed Hawkins, "were I to make this *my* rule, with how few of your society

author of that book and its calumnies, the observation now mentioned is fully verified in him; for, to my certain knowledge, this man, being sent away from *Spain* before he was ripe in learning, with a view to magnify his Mission with private friends, gave himself a title so ridiculously and chimerically fictitious, that if I named it here, it would bring upon him an incurable confusion; not to wound him too deeply, I forbear to unfold the matter further at present. But I have divulged it to a person of quality of his acquaintance, with a message to him and his brethren, that if they will not stand to the offer of their superior above-mentioned, of union in Christianity and civil demeanour; nor accept of my invitation to a trial of our cause by a grave and scholastic mode, becoming Christians and learned men; but must force me out of it by calumnies and slanders, they may possibly find it is not want of materials that keeps me from throwing dirt in their faces, (as others commonly do on departing from them,) but want of inclination to such practice: and when their great Doctors* teach them to raise false testimonies, whereby to bring discredit on their adversaries, as this man does, I hope they will allow me to repel with truth, though bitter, the assaults of malicious enemies.

After the publication of these four books now mentioned, the

could I safely trust my life, when once the sun was down?" *A General Def. of Reform.*; *a Letter to Berington*, by Rev. J. Hawkins, p. 78. Worcester, 1788.

Mr. Hawkins left the communion of the Church of Rome, and joined that of the Church of England, and published *An Appeal to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition*, at Worcester, about 1786; and, with other publications, this admirable *Letter to Berington*; from which, as the volume is very scarce,—a limited number only having been printed, not published,—we shall quote rather freely, in one or two subsequent pages.

* Vide Caramuel, Theolog. fundamentali fundamento 551. N. 1589.

[*John Caramuel Lobkovitz* was born in 1606. He became Professor of Theology at Alcala, was selected to be Abbot of Melrose, and Vicar-General at Louvain, for the British Islands; and afterwards, for his eminent services, was elevated to the Bishopric of Koningsgratz, in Bohemia. According to *Antonio*, he reconciled to the Church 30 thousand heretics, (hæreticorum plusquam triginta millibus ad castra ecclesiæ reductis) and died in 1682. He was a most redoutable scribbler, having left, besides his published works, four chests full of inedited writings. His *Theologia fundamentalis* was printed at Frankfort, 1651; and at Rome and Lyons in 1657. Antonio, (ut supra) tom 1, p. 670.

This writer enters upon the pleasant question, *Whether the Jesuits may kill the Jansenists?* but concludes that as the Jansenists are no more able to obscure the glory of the society of Jesus, than an owl is to hide the sun, *they need not be killed.* See Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, p. 112, edit. 1816.]

last and great engine applied by my former brethren to recal me, was a large and solemn Bull of Pope Clement Xth., now reigning in *Rome*, signed and sealed by his *Protonotarius Apostolicus*, *Claudius Agrete;* assuring me in terms of full legality, an entire and absolute remission of all that is past, and a favourable reception to my former condition and privileges, if I would return to them. This Bull came into my hands by the *Dublin* post, in September last, with a letter about it of a few lines in Latin, without subscription; enticing me to an acceptance of the favour offered, and concluding with admonishing me of evil designed against me, if I did not consent to it; of which designs against me I have had more notice given me, than I am willing to publish. I thank God for delivering me hitherto, and I pray that he may correct the ill affected minds which harbour such cruel thoughts.

To the offer made by that Bull of pardon and favour, I answer, that I want a more necessary indult from the true Supreme Head of the Church, our Saviour Jesus Christ, for submitting to the present laws and commands of the Romish Church, opposed, as I conceive they are, to the Commandments of God, the doctrine of Christ, and the practice of the Primitive Apostolic Church; as I hope to make appear, in the following Treatise, to the impartial reader, by the help of God.

And finding the above-mentioned J. S. more eager in challenging me to answer his syllogisms, and his party more confident of them, I hastened my reply to him for the press; but some delays intervening, which gave me time to have the second part (which I intended to be of my reply) finished before this other could be printed; I have resolved to leave his own place to Mr. J. S., which is the last, and begin with my reply to N. N. declaring, by occasion of his objections, that the faith which we profess in the Church of *England*, is that (and no other) which *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles taught, and was professed by the faithful, in the first and better ages of Christianity; that we have in this Church all those titles and rights which qualify a Church for being truly Catholic, even according to the rules prescribed by the ablest writers of the Romish party; whereby all those exclamations against us, as heretics and schismatics, appear to be no better than empty bubbles, and mere wind, only apt to delude weak and ignorant

people; and thence I will proceed to shew how the ordinary stuff of their arguments against us is bottomed constantly upon false suppositions and misrepresentations of our doctrine and practices; which if well known to the sober and sincere sort of Roman Catholics, they would be far otherwise affected than they are towards the Church of England, by the false informations of ignorant or malicious instructors.

O may the FATHER OF LIGHT and the GOD OF TRUTH open the eyes of men blinded with earthly passions, that they may see and follow the true way to everlasting happiness, declared to us by his dear Son *Jesus;* that his will and glory may be the common aim of all our wishes and writings, and of all our actions; that our studies and endeavours be not to make the breach among Christians wider, but to reconcile them in Christ; that thus united in Him, we be at length happily united among ourselves, in the profession of true faith in our good Saviour Jesus: to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

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# TRUE

# CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART I.

BEING

A Reply to N. N's two books, the one entitled, *The Bleeding Iphigenia*, the other *The Doleful Fall, &c.;* with a reflexion upon J. E.'s libel, entitled, *A Sovereign Counterpoison, &c.* and a Vindication of the Church of *England* from the calumnies of them and of their party.

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### CHAPTER I.

*A summary account of the contents of N. N's. two books, and a distribution of the points to be handled in relation to them.*

An useful proposal being made in the Senate of Athens, by a person of ill repute, those wise Senators accorded that the same should be tendered by another of a clearer fame, that it might carry by his authority more weight, and be the better accepted. A similar course seems to have been adopted towards me by my brethren of the *Romish* communion. Reasons of discontent with the Church of *England*, and great affronts of it being presented to me by J. E. in his book or libel entitled *A Sovereign Counterpoison*, &c. they, justly suspecting that I would slight that onset, out of a dislike to the person, because of his rude and passionate expressions, have taken care that the same, and other motives of

discontent, should be proposed by another of greater reputation—an aged and grave *Prelate*, renowned for learning and virtue, and once much respected by me. He is pleased to give me marks of former acquaintance for knowing him, but without commission of further discovering him to the reader, than under the character of N. N.

In the beginning of his Preface, (which came forth in a separate tractate) he tells me how much he was surprised and troubled on seeing a copy (which he received in print from *London*) of my Declaration for the Church of *England*. *This Paper indeed* (says he) *gave me a great heaviness of heart, for I loved the man dearly for his amiable nature and excellent parts, and esteemed him both a pious person and a learned, and so did all that knew him.* And after bemoaning my fall (as he calls it) *from a little heaven, the state of Religion, wherein* (says he) *for a time he shined, like a little star in virtue and learning*, he declares his anger against me, and purpose of serving me, not with the waters of *Shiloah* that go softly, but with those of *Rezin*—more tumultuous, to wash me from the stains of *Heresy*.

And after this, leaving me, he falls abruptly upon lamenting the miseries of *Ireland*, and complaining of injuries done to the natives of it, and justifying their proceedings in their late insurrection, which he will not have to be called a rebellion. In this he spends that tractate; and then proceeds to the larger book designed against me, giving to it this title—*The Doleful Fall* of Andrew Sall, *Jesuit of the fourth vow, from the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Faith, lamented by his constant friend; with an open rebuking of his embracing the Confession contained in the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England.**

* Father Walsh, the Franciscan, whose letters will be often used in this Volume, thus delivers his opinions to French, on his book.

"*Andrew Sall* himself, that very gentleman whose *Doleful Fall* you sent me, is come hither last week, and much caressed by several persons of quality, amongst whom is the Earl of *Orrery*. One of the greatest of them says, his talent is not preaching. He is nevertheless in good repute among all the Church of England-men. And by some of those judicious persons who have already seen, and gone through that book against him (I mean the *Doleful Fall* &c.) I am told it will get him more repute still, not only because (as they say) it answers not the arguments he makes use of in his Recantation-Sermon to justify his departure from the Church of *Rome*, but gives a good Character of him, and is known

This book he begins with a rhetorical, or satyrical exclamation against my resolution of embracing the said Confession; and proceeds to relate at large the virtues and learning of St. *Jerome*, St. *Augustine*, St. *Ambrose*, and other holy Doctors of the Church, whose company he says I have forsaken; and then adduces a large list of Heretics of all ages, beginning with *Lucifer*, whom he will have to be the first Heretic before man's creation; and so coming down all along by *Cain*, *Lamech*, the Giants, *Cham*, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, with others mentioned in holy writ, to these of the latter times, relating their execrable vices and errors; of all which he will have me to be guilty, and an associate of those Heretics for embracing the Confession contained in the

besides to have a Catholic Bishop for its author. Yet I am for the author's fair and just and conscientious carriage herein, i. e. in giving that character of him which he knew to be right: wishing heartily there had never been any other method seen amongst Roman Catholics, or in their writings, especially against any such learned, judicious, sober, ancient men, who had quitted their Communion. For that such persons did out of mere inward conscience depart, and declare themselves of another Church, we ought to presume until we have some evidence. or sufficient proofs to the contrary. And we know that our inward conscience (whether in itself erroneous or not, according to the objective verity, or falsity of things in themselves) must be the immediate rule of all our actions, and consequently of our whole life, and faith, and religion, and profession thereof * * * * * All which being true, it were worth the while to consider what it is hurries on our Catholic [Popish] writers *generally to such exorbitant passions and barbarous language* (besides many *downright lies* and *mere calumnies* often) against all those who leave our Church." *Four Letters*, pp. 67–69.

Father Walsh met with a full share of this treatment himself, for merely protesting against the peculiarities of his Church, and endeavouring to induce her adherents in Ireland to act as members of the Catholic Church. As usual, he met with no success—both he and all who sided with him, were overborne by rampant and genuine Popery.

Since the preceding note was written, we have had an opportunity through the kindness of the Rev. *Cæsar Otway*, of consulting a reprint of the very rare volume—*The Doleful Fall*, &c., bearing the imprint of "London, 1749." It is a much more elaborate and learned work than the Review of it in the *Catholicon* would lead us to suppose; but proceeds upon the assumption (as many other Romish works and arguments do) that Popery is Christianity. "Shall I speak my mind to you;" (Dr. French asks Sall, and this style recurs constantly) "having gone out of the Roman Catholic Church, and quitted the faith therein professed, all along from the Apostles' times till this day, you are of no Religion; for all the rest is but Paganism, Judaism and Heresy:" p. 31. He makes great use (pp. 37—41) of the Bishop of London's *Legacie*, the publication of Musket, a Jesuit, who afterwards himself admitted its want of authenticity. See Baxter's *Key for Catholics*, note p. 212, Edit. 1839.

XXXIX Articles of the Church of *England*. He pretends to discuss and censure some of them, as also some parts of my Declaration, makes a scandalous narrative of the *English* Reformation, and finally concludes with a fervent exhortation to me to return to the *Roman* Church.

By the *scheme* which I deliver of that book, the prudent reader may judge how tedious a labour it were to take notice of every thing contained in it, and how impertinent; I being so far from what he supposes me to be, and from being concerned in the Heresies and in favour of the Heretics he mentions. Yet the quality of the person, the sacred tie of friendship which he professes for me, and the good intention which I am to believe he had in his writing; and above all, the love of truth obliged me to undeceive him, and others who may be of his opinion, respecting the great and gross mistake under which he labours, touching my condition and that of the Church of *England*, whose communion I have embraced. I will therefore demonstrate,

First, That the Religion which we profess in the Reformed Church of *England* is no other than the true, Primitive, Catholic, and Apostolic Religion, taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and practised in the first and purer ages by the Primitive Church.

Secondly, That we have nothing to do with the Heresies which N. N. attributes to us; and that his brethren indulging in such calumnies plainly manifest that it is not the Spirit of God which moves them.

Thirdly, That the professors of the Evangelical doctrine in the Reformed Churches are not so few or despicable, nor the *Romish* faction so considerable, as they would make the ignorant believe.

Fourthly and lastly, I will refute some seditious doctrines delivered in his first book, which is a Preface to the second, and will conclude with a check to J. E's. calumnies and barbarous abuses fastened on the Protestant Church.

## CHAPTER II.

### *That the Church of* England *is a true Catholic Church, and that the Doctrine professed in it is truly Catholic and Apostolic.*

You begin the first Chapter of your book against me, N. N. (under this character you will be named) you begin, I say, with a rhetorical exclamation in these terms—*O Sall, tell us what domineering spirit of darkness, what black temptation hath drawn you out of the house of God?*—I may justly return for answer another exclamation better grounded, and say, O *N. N.* tell us what domineering spirit of blindness, what black presumption is this, which so generally possesses your faction amidst the light of so learned an age, that a person of your years and degree should not know, that *in the house of my Heavenly Father there are many mansions!* that it extends farther than the quarters of the *Roman Pope!* that in quitting his jurisdiction I forsake not the whole house of God!—But though you declare to your reader, that your purpose is not to deal with me scholastically, but historically, that is to say (as I find) not by reason, but by railing, and by calumnies, wherewith your usual armories are plentifully stored, and by empty flourishes upon false grounds; I will not engage in the same manner with you, but prove scholastically, that is to say, with formal and solemn arguments, will demonstrate, that in all your cries you are beating the air and not me; that all of them are grounded upon a false supposition; that by forsaking the Romish communion I did not forsake the Catholic Church; that the *Church of England*, whose communion I embraced, is a very noble and sound member of the Catholic Church, and that the doctrine professed in it and proposed to the people for the object of their belief, is truly Catholic and Apostolic, free from all heresy and falsehood. And when I have proved so much in a rational and scholastic style and method, it will appear how vain your attempt is of working on me by loud cries against heresies wherein I am not concerned; as if you were hunting a wild boar in a forest to drive him by

clamour and shouting into your nets. It is reason that wins me, and whereby I desire to win others; not exclamations and cries of that description.

I will not repeat the just complaints delivered by many learned writers of the arrogance of your party—of their absurdity and impropriety of terms, in pretending that *they* alone are the Catholic, that is to say, the Universal Church, being at the best but a part of it and the same very corrupt; and not the greater part, but the less by very much, as hereafter will appear.

To go through with my engagement of proving by scholastic exact reasons, that the Church of *England* is a true Catholic Church, I will take up the arguments used against this verity by one of the ablest schoolmen who ever wrote in favour of your cause, employed by the Pope against our great and learned King James—I mean *Francis Suarez* the Jesuit; I will, I say, take up the arguments wherewith this famous Schoolman pretends to rob the Church of *England* of the glorious title of a Catholic Church, and shew by that way of argument which Logicians, after Aristotle, call *argumentum mirabile*, that they prove the contrary, and confirm the Church of *England* in its right to the title of a true Catholic and Apostolic Church. It will indeed appear a singular triumph of truth, that the weakest defender of it should wrest arms out of the hand of the ablest opposer, and beat him with his own weapons. A trial of this great power of truth, I offer now to the view of the ingenuous reader, in my encounter with *Suarez* on this subject. I will not pursue all the amplifications and excursions of this voluminous writer, as not suitable to the brevity and perspicuity which I intend to follow; yet I will take up the foundations of all his arguments upon this subject, and apply them to my purpose aforesaid.

*Franciscus Suarez*, in his volume* entitled *Defensio Fidei*

* This volume was published at Coimbra in 1612, and at Cologne in 1614; with the approbation of Provincials of the Order. It proceeded from no common pen, for the writer, a native of Grenada, is styled by Antonio (*Biblioth. Hisp. nova*, I, 480) "magnum patriæ urbis atque adeo totius Hispaniæ Jesuiticæque sacræ sodalitatis incrementum"—notwithstanding it was condemned to the flames by the Parliament of Paris. Dr. Sall's more immediate object did not lead him to notice the portions, which demanded this public reprehension; but a selection may be seen in the *Annales de la Soc. des Jesuites*, tome 2, pp. 611—14. One opinion, though by no means peculiar to himself, runs as fol-

*Catholicæ et Apostolicæ, adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores*, in his first book, from the XIIth Chapter of it forwards, endeavours to prove, that the Church of *England* is not a Catholic Church, and, therefore, that the faith of it is not a Catholic faith. The first foundation which he lays for this purpose is this, that these two things, *Catholic Faith* and *Catholic Church*, are so united, as the one may not be found separate from the other; so that no Church may be Catholic wherein the Catholic Faith is not professed, neither may the Catholic faith be found in any Church that is not Catholic. Thence he proceeds to prove, that the Roman Church is Catholic, becase it has a continual succession from the first Church that was so called, and retains the same faith which the Primitive Catholic Apostolic Church professed; for which he cites Tertullian, saying,* *Doctrinam Catholicam esse in Ecclesiâ Romanensi*—that in the *Roman* Church Catholic Doctrine is professed which is as much (says Suarez) as if he had said it is a Catholic Church: from all which Suarez concludes, *n.* 13, that the Church of *England* is not Catholic, because it is not the *Roman* Church, nor united with it; and there is but one Catholic Church, as we confess in the Creed.

How hard a task Suarez has in proving, in order to complete his argument, that in the present Church of Rome that faith, and no other, is taught which the ancient Church, called Catholic, is supposed to have taught, may appear by all my former discourses against their new coined articles, never mentioned in the Primitive Church.

But the object of my present work will be to shew, how his argument, wherewith he pretends to prove the *Roman* Church to be the Catholic, does with more force evince the Church of *England* to be truly Catholic. And thus I form it to that purpose: In whatsoever Church that faith is professed which was taught in

lows:—"Propositio hæc, Papa potestatem habet ad deponendos reges hæreticos et pertinaces, suove regno in rebus ad salutem animæ pertinentibus perniciosos, *inter dogmata fidei tenenda et credenda est*;" cap. 8, no. 8, p. 844. See Baxter's *Key for Catholics*; p. 75.—Edit. 1839.

* *Tertull. in præscriptionibus*, cap. xx. [Of course Tertullian says no such thing, even by implication. The very Chapter referred to (if correctly so done) speaks quite Catholically, and, therefore, not Romishly. "Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes prima, et Apostolica, dum una omnes probant unitatem."

the ancient Church, first called Catholic and Apostolic, that Church is truly Catholic and Apostolic: In the Church of England is professed that faith which was taught by the ancient Church, first called Catholic and Apostolic; therefore the Church of *England* is truly Catholic and Apostolic. If we prove the minor proposition, Suarez cannot in justice deny the consequence. And if he will insist upon his pretension of such a disunion of his Church with that of *England*, that both may not be Catholic, let the second consequence be of his own making, that their Church is no Catholic Church; for it is not my intention to make them worse than the Doctors of the Church of *England* do, who allow them to be members, though corrupt, of the Catholic Church.

The minor proposition, wherein the stress of my argument consists, I prove thus:—The faith taught by the ancient Church, first called Catholic and Apostolic, is that contained in the three *Creeds*, that of the *Apostles*, of Nice, and Athanasius, professed and declared in the first four General Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, received by the faithful in the first four ages of the Christian Church; all this faith is professed by the Church of England, as Suarez confesses to have been declared by King James, and is to be seen in his Majesty's Epistle to Cardinal Perron, written by Isaac Casaubon.* Therefore that faith is taught in the Church of England which was taught by the Primitive Church, first called Catholic and Apostolic; and, consequently, it is a Church truly Catholic and Apostolic, according to the aforesaid rule given us by Suarez, and laid for a foundation of his argument to prove the Roman Church to be Catholic. And truly it cannot but appear strange, that any Christian, not blinded with partiality, or prejudice, should imagine, that the sacred Apostles, entrusted to preach saving doctrine to all the world, should not have given a sufficient notice of it in the system of articles which they left to us;—that those venerable Fathers of the purer ages of Christianity, congregated in the four first General Councils, should give us but a diminutive account of Catholic and Apostolic belief;—that the Pope's Infallibility, Supremacy, and other articles of later im-

* "Nuper Regis jussu aliam Epistolam [ad Card. Perronium] scripsimus." *Casaubon Epistolæ* (Roterod. 1709) p. 438. This Letter, and the portion of it to which Sall alludes, written A.D. 1612, may be seen in the same volume, p. 491.

pression in the *Roman* Church, should be so essential to Christian faith, as that none may be saved without a belief of them!

This argument may be confirmed by the testimony of Athanasius, related by Suarez in the Chapter above-mentioned, *(num.* 2,) saying, that the collection of articles contained in his Creed is the Catholic faith: *hæc est Fides Catholica*, &c.—*this is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe he cannot be saved:* but in the Church of *England*, that faith called Catholic, and contained in the Creed of Athanasius, *is* believed and professed; therefore, if any Church, professing the Catholic faith, is Catholic itself, the Church of *England*, professing this Catholic faith, is truly Catholic.

The *second* foundation laid by Suarez in the same Chapter *(n. 6)* to prove that his Church is Catholic, is to say, that it did in all times profess the faith of that Creed. But the Church of England does and always did profess the faith of the same Creed; therefore it has the same right to the same calling.

The *third* foundation laid by Suarez, from the 15th num. of the said Chapter, is a sign or distinction used by ancient Fathers, by which to know a Church or Congregation truly Catholic, and to distinguish it from another not Catholic.—That whensoever any sect takes its name from the master or teacher of such a doctrine, and the followers of it call themselves by such a name, neither the doctrine nor the followers of it are Catholic; for which he alleged the testimony of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Lactantius, and others. And the reason or cause of this distinction is, that every Heresy brings in some novelty against the ancient faith, and new things must have new names whereby to be known and distinguished from others.

But it is very remarkable how this subtile disputant, otherwise very exact and formal in his discourses, pretending to rob the Church of *England* of the name of Catholic by the principle now mentioned, comes to confirm the same name upon it, not finding it capable of the aforesaid note of a sect not Catholic. For pretending to name it from *Calvin*, he finds an obstacle in his way, because Calvin does not approve a chief doctrine of it. Then he proceeds to call it *Henrician*, from King Henry VIIIth, because from him the Church of *England* learnt to acknowledge the King as head or supreme Governor of the Church in his own domi-

nions. Against this also he meets with several obstacles, to which I will add this other very considerable one, that this practice of the Church of *England* is by many ages more ancient than the time of Henry the VIIIth; whereas it allows no other Supremacy to our King over the Church, than such as the godly kings of Israel, and the Christian emperors in the Primitive Church were accustomed to exercise in their respective dominions, as is declared in the XXXVIIth Article, and in the second Canon of the Church of *England.*

Since Suarez, therefore, cannot find the name of *Lutheran*, *Calvinistic*, *Henrician*, nor any other taken from any particular author, or teacher, to be agreeable to this Church, it must follow from the above-mentioned note of a Catholic Church delivered by him, and taken out of ancient Fathers, that it is a Church truly Catholic, that being the only name it owns. And its Preachers, praying for our King, style him *Defender of the Faith truly Catholic and Apostolic;* and King James in his Monitory to the Emperor and other Christian Princes, styles himself *Defender of the Faith truly Christian, Catholic, and Apostolic, of the Ancient and Primitive Church;* and we pray heartily that our Kings may never defend any other Faith than this.

## CHAPTER III.

Suarez's *argument, taken from the propriety of the word* Catholic, *applied to prove that the Church of* England *is truly* Catholic.

The *fourth* foundation laid by Suarez in the XIVth Chapter of his aforesaid book, to prove that the Church of *England* is not Catholic, he takes from the propriety and meaning of the word *Catholic*. He supposes, that according to the Etymology of the word in Greek, *Catholic* is the same as *universal* or *common;* which universality he says is fourfold in relation to the present purpose. First as to the *matter* or object of our belief, that it be entire, comprehending all points belonging to Christian and saving faith. Secondly, that it have an *Universal* or common reason of belief; which common reason or rule must be Divine truth, or the word of God, whereby He gives testimony to truth, according to that expression of St. Paul, 1 Thess. ii. 13, *When ye received the word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God.* Thirdly, *Universality* is required in relation to the degree and orders of persons, according to that description of a Church given by Optatus Milevitanus, Lib. 2, contra Parmenianum: *Certa membra sua habet Ecclesia, Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diacanos, Ministros, et turbam fidelium*—that is, *that the Church has its certain members, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Ministers, and a congregation of the faithful.* The fourth and chief universality required for the propriety of the name *Catholic* is, that a Church, to be such, be extended over all the parts of the earth, according to the declaration of the said Optatus, (Lib. 2, contra Donatistas) *ubi ergo erit proprietas Catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit Catholica quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa*—that *the propriety of the name* Catholic *requires that it should be a Church rational and diffused over all places.*

Suarez endeavours to prove that all these proprieties of *Universality*, belonging to a Catholic Church, are wanting to this of

*England*, so that it may not be entitled to the name of Catholic. *First*, as to the *material universality* or integrity of articles necessary to a Catholic faith, he pretends that the Church of *England* is deficient in several articles, as he promises to prove elsewhere, but at present singles out as chief that of the Pope's supremacy, which the Church of *England* denies; and he promises to prove that it belongs to a Catholic faith. I commend Suarez for his ingenuity and perspicacity in striking the nail on the head. This indeed is that *stumbling stone and rock of offence;* this is the chief, and, I may say, the only cause of that irreconcileable disunion of the Roman Church with us. We know by certain and well authorized records,* that Pope Paul IV. offered to Queen Elizabeth to approve of the Reformation, *if* the Queen would acknowledge his Primacy and the Reformation from him; and he being dead, his successor, Pius IV. prosecuted the same, as appears by his Letters written May 5, 1560,† and sent by Vincentio Parpalia, offering to confirm the Liturgy of the *English* Church, if she would acknowledge his Supremacy. This being told by Sir Roger Twisden (as he himself relates) to an Italian Gentleman versed in public affairs, together with the grounds on which he asserted it; *Well* (said the Gentleman) *if this were heard in Rome among religious men, it would never gain credit; but with such as have in their hands the maneggi della corte* (the management of the court affairs) *it may be held true.*‡ And indeed those who know the spirit of

* Tortura torti, p. 152. [Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, replied to Bellarmine, who, under the assumed name of *Matthæus Tortus*, published *An Answer to the King's 'Apologie' for the oath of Allegiance*, by an extremely acute and powerful Pamphlet entitled *Tortura Torti*, in which the question respecting the manner and extent of Garnet's acquaintance with the Plot of 1605 is fully and ably argued. *Library of Entertaining Knowledge; Criminal Trials;* vol. 2, p. 364.]

† Cambden [Cambden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth in the *Complete History of England*, vol. 2, p. 284, edit. 1719; where the Pope's Letter is given entire,] anno 1560.

‡ Twisden, H. Vind. [*An Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, in *point of Schism*, as *it stands separated from the Roman, by Sir R. Twisden*,] (Lond. 1675,) cap. ix. n. 5. Sall has borrowed some of the preceding references from this volume.

The attempts to induce the Queen to seek the Pope's approbation of the Common Prayer, and thus to acknowledge his *authority*—the point particularly

that Court, may easily believe, that if this great point of the Supremacy, the foundation of their power and grandeur, were agreed upon, they would easily work at other dissensions; whereof we have a pregnant testimony from Bellarmine, (Lib. 3, *de Ecclesia*, cap. 2,) asserting, that even such as have no interior faith, nor any Christian virtue, are to be considered as members of the Catholic Church, provided they do but outwardly profess the faith of the *Roman* Church, and subjection to the Pope, though it be only for some temporal interest. So ready they are in Rome to embrace all sorts of men, provided they acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy. This being established, all is well; being denied, the best of men and the soundest believers in Christ must be damned as Heretics by the sentence of that Court.

But I shall shew sufficiently, in the XVth Chapter of the IInd part of this Treatise, how vain the pretence of Suarez and his party is, to make the Pope's Supremacy an article of saving faith; how unjust and tyrannical an usurpation it is; and how far the best Popes in the Primitive Church were from pretending to it, and still more from pressing it upon Christians as an article of saving faith. And, indeed, it must appear strange to any impartial judgment, that the system of articles contained in the three Creeds and four first General Councils, which gained the name of Catholic to the Church first called so, should not suffice to make a Church Catholic in all times. Therefore, the Church

to be attended to—were renewed (it would seem) under a subsequent Pontiff:—"Notwithstanding these passages, some of the Council were for it, others against it; which gave such encouragement to Priests, Fryers, and Jesuits, that they flocked over hither in greater number than ever, under pretence that they came according to her Majestie's gracious proclamation, and would not be thought conspirators, or fugitives. These people under several shapes, pretending divers opinions, some of the Family of Love, others Puritanism, Anabaptism; others desiring her Majesty might enjoy the *Common Prayer*, within her realm for her and her subjects, provided she could get Pope Gregory's confirmation to confirm it, saying that *Pius Quintus* offered to confirm the same, if her Majesty would have acknowledged it as from the Church of Rome." Ware's *Hunting of the Roman Fox*, (Dublin, 1683,) p. 149.—Another scheme was also in agitation respecting this celebrated Queen, with which the public is not perhaps so generally acquainted—viz. the getting her married to some Papal Prince, and then proselyting her, if possible, to the Church of Rome. See *Annales Eccles. auct. Od. Raynaldo*; (anno 1565, § 20,) which state that this project really occupied the attention of his Holiness's Consistorial Court.

of *England*, professing *all those* articles, is to be considered as truly Catholic, though denying the Pope's Supremacy, not contained in the aforesaid system; nor ever owned by the Church first called Catholic, as hereafter will be proved.

As to the *second* sort of *Universality*, consisting in taking the word of God for a common reason or rule of belief, how can any one pretend that the Church of *England* is deficient herein? having ever protested that the word of God contained in Canonical Scripture is the prime and only rule of its belief; while the Roman Church refuses to stand by this rule, as unable to make out all that it would force upon us to be believed. What Suarez pretends, that the Church of *England* wants a rule infallible for knowing which is true Scripture, and the true meaning of it, (which they conceive to possess in the Pope's Infallibility) I shall prove in the VIIIth Chapter of the IInd part of this treatise to be vain indeed, we having, in Universal Tradition and in the writings of the holy Fathers, means sufficiently certain for knowing which is the true Scripture, and which the true meaning of it, in points necessary to salvation. As for others less necessary, if there be obscurity and diversity of opinions among our writers, so is there among theirs; nor could their pretended Infallibility ever cause them to agree. Nay, among the best and wisest Fathers of the Church, there was always a great diversity of opinions in points not fundamental, without breach of Catholic and Christian union.

Now concerning the *third* kind of union or *Universality*, consisting in a Hierarchical Order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, &c.—Suarez is much mistaken in saying that we have them not true and legal. I will shew at large from the Vth Chapter following, that we possess all the security to which they lay claim, of a legal succession and true ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. It is their concern that we should not be found deficient herein; for any defect conceived in our hierarchy will reflect upon theirs.

Finally, with respect to the *fourth* manner of Universality, signified by the name *Catholic*, that a Church or faith so called should be extended over all the earth, Suarez exceeds much in denying this property to the Church of *England*, or the Faith professed in it, asserting that it extends not beyond the bounds of

British land. That grave and modest testimony of King James, related by Suarez in the same place, (Chap. xv. n. 6,) expresses the contrary to this :—*Nos Dei beneficio nec numero, nec dignitate ita sumus contemnendi, quin bono vicinis nostris exemplo præire possimus: quando quidem Christiani orbis omniumque in eo ordinum inde à Regibus liberisque Principibus usque ad infimæ conditionis homines pars propè media in nostram Religionem consensit—We, by the grace of God, are not so despicable either for number or dignity, that we may not be a good example to our neighbours; whereas nearly the one half of the Christian world, and all orders of people in it, from Kings and Sovereign Princes to the meanest sort of persons, have already embraced our Religion.* I shall demonstrate hereafter from the XIX. Chapter, descending to particulars, that this saying of King James was both true and modest, and that more than the one half of the Christian world agrees with the Church of *England* in Unity of faith, sufficient to render them Catholic; and that the Church of *Rome* should cease boasting of her extent,* being now come so short of that latitude which made her swell with contempt of all other Christian Churches now far exceeding her in number, and of the lustre of Princes and Kingdoms, embracing the Faith professed in them.

Suarez, anticipating a check to his argument from this discovery in the XVI. Chapter (No. 4) of his said book, premises, that this general extension of the Catholic Church over all the world, is to be understood of extension either by right, or by actual possession; and though the latter be deficient, the former of right cannot want, Christ having commanded that his Gospel should be preached to all the world. But how can Suarez pretend that this right should belong to the faith of his *Church* rather than to that of the Church of *England?* whereas this latter preaches only as

* It is remarkable that the schemes by which the Church of Rome has laboured to enlarge herself, involve the "expansiveness" of Protestantism. Had not that Church resorted, in the 16th. Century, to the most barbarous methods and inquisitorial proceeding, her dominion would have shrunk to almost nothing in France, Spain, Italy, Poland, Bohemia, and indeed throughout Europe: see Dr. M'Crie's *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation* in Italy and Spain, for ample details as to her plans for keeping up a falling Church.

an object of belief the word of God contained in the Gospel, and in the other Canonical Scripture; while the Roman preaches articles coined by herself and never delivered to the Apostles to be preached; as we shall shew abundantly hereafter when refuting the errors of that Church.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Church of* England *proved to be* Apostolic *upon the foundation laid by Suarez to rob it of that title.*

SUAREZ, after having used his best endeavours to deprive the Church of *England* of her right to the name of Catholic, with so little success as we have so far seen in the preceding Chapter, proceeds in the XVIIth. Chapter of his aforesaid book, to rob it of the name of *Apostolic*, and so deprive King James of the title which he gives himself of *Defender of the Faith truly Catholic and Apostolic.*

With a view to prove that the Faith of the Church of *England* is not *Apostolic*, he lays this foundation; that two things are requisite to constitute a Faith or Doctrine *Apostolic:* the first, that it proceed in some manner from the preaching, words, or writings of the Apostles; secondly, that it be conveyed to us by legal tradition and succession. The *first* is contained in those words of St. Paul, Ephes. ii. 19, 20, *Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.* The second requisite is declared by Irenæus, lib. 3, cap. 3, in these words, *Traditionem Apostolorum in omni Ecclesia adest perspicere qui vera velint audire, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis et successores eorum usque ad nos— they who are willing to hear truth must look upon the tradition of the Apostles in all Churches, and we can number those who were ordained* Bishops *by the Apostles and their successors to our own times.*

Suarez pretends that these two requisites are wanting in the Church of *England* to merit the name of *Apostolic.* First, (says he) because the doctrine of it was not preached by the Apostles, neither was it taken out of their doctrine, or conveyed to us by lawful Tradition. Against which position he brings King James

himself protesting to believe, admit, and reverence the Canonical Scriptures, the three Creeds, and the first four General Councils, in which sacred fountains he judged the Apostolic Faith to be contained; and Suarez acknowledges that King James spoke herein not only his own sense, but the sense and belief of the whole Church of *England* which is no small glory to it.

But how can Suarez make out, that the Apostolic faith and doctrine is not sufficiently contained in those sacred fountains of the Scriptures, Creeds, and Councils received by the Church of *England?* See, reader, and admire his answer! *Though the doctrine of the said books considered in itself* (says he) *be Catholic Apostolic faith*, (or rather a part of it, for he pretends that all Catholic faith is not contained in those fountains,) *yet, as it is received by Sectaries, either it is not Apostolic, or it may not be certainly taken for such: first, because they cannot be certain whether those books which they receive are Canonical, or the Councils legal.—Secondly, because they cannot be certain of the true meaning of the Scriptures, Creeds, or Councils;* so that, in conclusion, the Divinity of our Saviour preached by a *Romish* Priest is Catholic Apostolic Faith; but not so when preached by one of the Church of England!

I should indeed think this consequence alone was a sufficient confutation of this unhappy subtilty of Suarez. But further to this reason: when effectively we are secured that the Scripture received by us is truly Canonical and Divine, and our adversaries do allow it, what need is there for quarrelling about the grounds and motives of our security therein? And touching the sense both of Scripture, Creeds, and Councils, the saying * of King James, related by Suarez, n. 9, that he takes the Creeds in the same sense which the Fathers and Councils, by whom they were constructed, were willing to give to them, well considered, is both pious and prudent. When the words of a Scripture or article are capable of different senses, all consistent with Christian verity, and none repugnant to sound doctrine, it is but Catholic piety to suspend a firm assent to one, and maintain a readiness to adhere to what may be the real intention of the sacred writer.

* Se tria Symbola in eo sensu interpretari, quem illis esse voluerunt Patres atque Concilia a quibus sunt condita atque descripta.

For example, that article of the Apostles' Creed touching our Saviour's descent into Hell, is capable of different senses in relation to the Hell into which he descended. It is a groundless conjecture of Suarez that King James, and the Church of *England* with him, should deny a real descent, and say he suffered the pains of Hell in the garden; as may be seen by the grave discourse of learned Dr. Pearson, now Bishop of Chester, upon that Article. We believe that he descended really into Hell, that is to say, into some place under the earth; it may be, without any absurdity, to the Hell of the damned, as declared in the IInd Part of this Treatise, c. XXVII. But whether it was that Hell or another subterranean place into which he descended, we may with piety and prudence suspend our judgment, having no Divine oracle upon which to ground any thing respecting the determination of the place.

And Suarez gives us a signal example of this resignation of our intellects to the intention of the writer, in a matter less sacred than the Articles of the Creed; I mean the expressions of Popes with respect to Indulgences. Finding insuperable difficulties, in giving a congruous sense to terms of that Art. which appear nonsense, as those of *plena, plenior, plenissima*, full, more full, most full;—if full, or plenary, how can another be more full, &c.—he confesses not to understand the propriety of these and other expressions used upon that subject, but will *rest upon the judgment of the Church* which knows the *meaning of those measures*, as will be seen in the XXXIXth Chapter. And certainly all those of his party have need of this kind of resignation to rest upon, if they will have quiet; for there is no article of Creed or Council without diversity of opinions respecting the true meaning of it among their doctors.

But this author has more to say to us;—that the points, wherein we differ from the Roman Church, were never taught by any of the Apostles. *For example* (says he) *to make the King Supreme Governor of the Church*,* (this nettles him still,) *what*

* Among all the concessions proposed to be made to the French Protestants in the 17th Century, nothing was ever held out which would compromise the *Supremacy of the Pope : nihil tamen* (as Rivet correctly remarks, Oper. tom. 3, p. 926,) *remittentes de præcipuis authoritatis Pontificiæ fundamentis*, quæ si sarta tecta manerent, noverant reliqua, quamvis ad tempus concessa, facile repeti posse ab

*place of Scripture, what History warrants this doctrine? What Christian, or godly King, ever practised such a Supremacy over the Church?* To which I reply, that we have a warrant for this subjection to our Princes in the words of St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 1, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers;* where no distinction is made between the Ecclesiastic and secular. We have for the same practice the examples of the godly Kings of Israel; and of Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church, as will be declared hereafter, Chapter XVII. And our doctrine herein being thus *built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets* appears thereby to be Catholic and Apostolic.

And if any doctrine of ours be not found grounded upon the same foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, we are all ready to make that pious confession of our great King James, related by Suarez, Chap. XVII. n. 15: *Ego vero id ingenuè spondeo, quoties Religionis quam profiteor nullum caput ostendetur non antiquum, Catholicum et Apostolicum, sed novitum esse ac recens (in rebus sc. spectantibus ad fidem) me statim ab eo discessurum—I do faithfully promise, that whensoever any point of the Religion which I profess shall be found not to be ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic, but new and modern, (as to things belonging to faith,) I will presently depart from it.* This much those of the Roman faith cannot say with sincerity and truth, since several of their tenets are not built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, but are contrary to them, as is shewn in the second part of this Treatise. Therefore, our Church and its faith, rather than that of *Rome*, is truly Catholic and Apostolic.

iis, qui sub alicujus novæ reformationis specie, se in laqueos qui tentebantur, imprudentes conjecissent."

The uniformity of Rome on this point merits attention.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Of the Succession and Lawful Ordination* of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, *in the Reformed Church of* England.

NOTHING is affirmed more confidently, nothing more blindly believed by most of the Romish party, than the nullity of the Protestant Clergy ; that our *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, are not such effectively, but nominally, or by title, and therefore unable to give Orders which they do not possess, or administer Sacraments depending on such Orders. This I find by experience to be the greatest obstacle to many of the more sober and serious of them in embracing the communion of the Church of *England*. They see clearly that nothing is asserted by it which may be thought heretical or erroneous. And what it denies of superstructures added in later ages by the Roman Church, they easily perceive them to be not essential to Salvation. Their main scruple is, whether in this separation of the Reformed Churches from the Roman, a lawful succession of Bishops and Ministers was retained, and a legal ordination of them continued ; whether they may live or die confidently relying upon the Ministry of the Reformed Ministers for consecrating, absolving, &c. without having recourse to a Romish Priest.

This point I find to be so necessary for settling the minds of many in this wavering age, that I thought convenient to examine it minutely, as far as may consist with the brevity and clearness which I aim at in this writing. To relate the reproaches and calumnies of Romish writers against our ministry were endless and misplaced. A shorter and readier way will be, to shew the truth and right of our cause by positive and undeniable arguments with respect to the lawful Succession and due Ordination of our Clergy. This being established, old stories and slanders will fall of themselves. Who would not think it trifling in me to take notice of that very rude and ridiculous fable of the Ordination of Parker and others at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, most

vigorously and demonstratively refuted, many years ago, by Mr. Mason, and unhappily revived of late by a certain gentleman to his own great shame and the discredit of his cause, being evidently convicted of impostures by the Lord Bishop *Bramhall* in a separate treatise printed upon that subject? Such base stuff as this, if suitable to ears possessed with fury and blind passion, is unworthy of any mention or regard among serious and sober men.

Now coming to the point, after much reading and serious consideration upon the matter, I wish heartily, that I could find the succession of lawful Bishops so clear and not interrupted in the Roman Church, from the Apostles' times to the Reformation, as we are able to shew it in ours from the beginning of the Reformation to our own days. It shall not be my present work to take notice of doubts occurring with respect to the former. It will suffice for my purpose to demonstrate, that from the beginning of Henry the VIIIth's reign (when there was no doubt of the legality of our Clergy) to this day, there has been a lawful uninterrupted Succession and due Ordination of Bishops and other inferior Clergy in the Churches of England and Ireland. If the testimony of an adversary will avail, we have that of *Cudsemius*, who came into England in the year 1608, to observe the state of our Church, and the order of our Universities. *Concerning the state of the* Calvinian *Sect in* England (says he*) *it so standeth, that either it may endure long or be changed suddenly, or in a trice, in regard of the Catholic order there, in a perpetual line of their Bishops, and the lawful succession of Pastors received from the Church, for the honour whereof we use to call the* English *Calvinists by a milder term, not Heretics but Schismatics.*

*Bellarmine* is peremptory † upon the contrary saying of all the Reformed Churches: *nostri temporis hæretici neutrum habent,*

* Cudsem. *de desper.* cap. ii. pag. 108. [Mogunt. 1609; Colon. 1612.] Cudsemius, who was in England in 1608, and till then bore the Christian name of *Samuel*, deserted the Reformed, and joined the Roman Church in the same year in France, and took the prænomen of *Peter*. There are extracts from the book quoted by Sall in *Caroli Memorabilia Eccles. sæc. decimo-sept.* (Tubing. 1697,) tom. 1, pp. 182, 3.

† *De notis Eccles.* lib. 4, cap. 3, § *nota quarta.*

*id est nec ordinationem nec successionem—the Heretics of our time have neither Ordination nor Succession.*

Whatever be said of other Reformed Churches (which I leave to speak for themselves upon this point) we have clear evidences to shew the falsity of the Cardinal's assertion, as relating to the Reformed Church of England; and the more criminal as more wilful calumny of *Bristow*, *Harding*, *Sanders*, *Howlet*, *Kellison*,* and other *English* Romanists, whose malice must be diabolical, or their ignorance supine and inexcusable, in slandering their country with what they knew, or easily might know, to be an untruth; as that stranger *Cudsemius* by due inquiry came to know.

For evidencing this point, of such great importance that it was the cry of *Papists* † to the *Protestant* Clergy in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and is still the challenge of many among them—*if you can justify your calling, we will come to your Church and be of your Religion;* I must premise *first* as to matter of fact, that in all prudence, I am to rely with more satisfaction upon the public authentic records of the Church and State of England, regarding the transactions of both, than upon the report of declared bitter enemies, such as those of the Romish faction are known to be. Whereas it cannot but appear morally impossible, in any impartial judgment, that in so grave and wise a nation as England is allowed to be, the Lords and Officers of Church and State should conspire, and agree in deluding posterity with false records. And on the other side the Romish party is found guilty, by incessant experience, of aspersing, without measure or regard to truth, the Protestant cause and all defenders of it; whereof the story of the Ordination at the Nag's-head, confidently revived of late by one of a great calling, and confuted to his shame and confusion by the Lord Primate *Bramhall*, may be a conspicuous evidence. To which I could add not a few more of my own experience and certain knowledge. They induced a great person to relate in Dublin, that I was struck dumb at the making of my Declaration in the Church of *Cashel*,

* Bristow, Harding, Sanders, Kellison apud Mason, lib. 1, cap. 2, *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* [pp. 8, 9, in the English Edition by Lindsay. London, 1728.]

† Papists Prisoners in Framblingham Castle, in Queen Elizabeth's time, related by Mr. Mason, 1 book, 3 chap. of his English Edition.

and that I fell suddenly dead soon after when going into the street. A miracle I suppose is inserted by this time in the annual letters of Rome and India, to terrify others from following my example. Another person of the same quality was employed to testify that after my aforesaid Declaration made at *Cashel*,* an extraordinary concourse of people being present at it, I went to a Nobleman's house where my habitation formerly was, and said Mass there; whereas I was not out of the Archbishop's company from that day, until I came to Dublin with a considerable number of men and arms to guard me. And after some months' constant retirement in the College of Dublin, without ever passing a night out of it, or going abroad but seldom to the Castle and a few houses of the chief Prelates and Nobility, an Irish Papist stated confidently to one of my Lord Chancellor's Gentlemen, (who related it to me after) that he saw me a few days before saying Mass at *Kilcullen* Bridge, (where I had not been for some years before that time) after my public Sermon of Recantation at Dublin; and upon the Gentleman asking how that could possibly be, I being in their sight and company, and never out of Dublin all that time, he took a book into his hand, and swore by it, that what he said was true. At this very instant it happened that I should come out of Christ Church from prayers in the company of another Gentleman of the College; and my Lord Chancellor's Gentleman seeing me, asked of the swearer whether he

* This open and public abjuration incommoded the Priesthood sadly, as appears by the following censures of it :—

"In the first place, the manner of *abjuring* your religion (under the title of a Recantation, &c.) is vile and infamous; could you not have performed the ungodly business in that Archbishop's chamber, (a work of darkness should have been smothered in silence and darkness) no; but you must have used a solemnity *in facie Ecclesiæ Protestanticæ*, to have many witnesses of your ignominies," —"the ugly abjuration."—*Dolcful Fall*, p. 20.

"Sall, your stay in Babylon is dangerous, and you know there is no dallying with serpents, if you fall deeply in love with honours, preferments, and other glorious miseries of the Babylon you now dwell in; if a woman lay hold of you, (and why may not this happen, seeing you walk with the Rabbins that teach Priests may marry, and are bound to marry, and did the like themselves) there will be after no hope of recovery!" Idem, p. 249.

Dr. Sall's allusion to what may be called the *Missionary Reports* of the Church of Rome—"the annual letters," affords a good notion of their general contents.

should know me if he saw me? he answered, yea: and being asked whether I was one of those two passing by? he said, no. But when he was told that I was one of them, he confessed that he never saw me before. So correct are their reports of us! If they were made but seldom, we might take them for mistakes; but seeing them so frequent and continual, we have too much ground for supposing a set purpose of imposing upon us, especially when their most creditable Doctors teach them, that it is lawful to raise false testimonies in defence of their credit, and in order that their opposers may not be believed. The authors of this godly doctrine, Confessors and Preachers to Emperors and Princes, you may see quoted by *John Caramuel*, titular Bishop of *Mysia*,* in *Theologiá fundamentali, fundamento*, 55, n. 1589. Such being the case, it appears how little credit is due to their testimonies against our cause and persons.

2. I premise *secondly*, that by Sacred Orders a character indelible is given to the person ordained whether Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; that is to say, a spiritual sign or ability for certain functions incapable of being taken away by human power or accident. So it is defined in the Council of Trent, Sess. 7, can. 9. *Si quis dixerit in tribus sacramentis, Baptismo, sc. Confirmatione et Ordine, non imprimi characterem in anima, hoc est signum quoddam spirituale et indelibile, unde ea iterari non possunt, anathema esto—If any shall say that in these three Sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation and Orders, a character is not left in the soul, viz. a spiritual and indelible sign (which is the cause they may not be repeated) let him be anathema.*

It is not my present business to dispute with the Council, upon what account it calls Confirmation and Orders Sacraments; but to note, that by it is defined, that sacred Orders leave a character indelible; and that they ought not to be reiterated upon the same person. The same doctrine is delivered again in Sess. 23, can. 4, of the same Council; adding that he who is once a Priest can never be made a Layman. And in the eighth Council of Toledo,†

* "Notus indidem et commendatus Anselmo Casimiro Mogunt. præsuli—ab eo honorifice invitatus est ad suffragandum sibi in Pontificalis officii munere, quod præstitit assumpto titulo Missiensis Episcopi." Antonio *Biblioth. Hisp. nova*. 1, 667.

† A.D. 653, apud *Concill. studio Labbei* tom. VI. col. 406.

cap. 7; and in the Council of Florence, under *Eugenius* IV.,* in *Decret. de unione.* Hence follows, says Bellarmine,† that no superior power can hinder a Bishop from confirming and ordaining, if he pleases to do it. And *Peter Soto* says,‡ that doubtless no heresy, excommunication, or even degradation, takes away the *power* of Orders, though the use of them may be unlawful; so as though a Heretic, excommunicated or degraded person, sin in conferring Orders, or administering sacraments, yet the actions are valid: for where such a character is, says Bellarmine,‖ God, in force of a Covenant, concurs to produce a supernatural effect, to wit, to give another character even Episcopal.

These two things premised, for examining the matters of fact, which is the ground and foundation of this work, we are to rely upon the public authentic Records of the Church of *England*, faithfully produced by Mr. *Francis Mason*, and thoroughly examined at the request of Mr. *Fitz-Herbert;* who, perceiving that a mortal wound was given to the Romish calumnies, by this narrative of Mr. *Mason*, desired that those Records referred to by Mr. *Mason* should be shewn to some learned person of the Romish communion; which was accordingly done by the most Reverend Father in God, *George* Archbishop of Canterbury;

* In Labbé A.D. 1439, tom. XIII. col. 535.

† Bellarm. *de Confirm.* cap. 12.

‡ Peter Soto, Lect. 5, *de Instit. Sacer.* lin. 5, fol. 279, edit. Diling. an. 1560. Peter de Soto was a Spaniard, a member of the Dominican Order, and in the days of Queen Mary a visitor of England. He travelled, previously, into Germany, having relinquished the honourable situation of Confessor to the King of Spain, in order that he might contend against the Heretics;—"*ejus mali* [the Reformation] *auctores plusquam Ditis, quod in proverbiis est, januam exosus.*" He was engaged on the same objects in England:—"Oxoniæ perlatus eo a Philippo Hispann. Principe, resensque Anglorum Rege, ut simul cum Jo. Villagarcia ejusdem familiæ theologo, caliginosi, tetrique illius gentis tot erroribus obcæcati ingenii tenebras, orthodoxæ, hoc est, antiquæ, saniorisque doctrinæ radiis plusquam solaribus excuteret."—Happily Mr. Peter's projected irradiations were intercepted by the death of the Queen. He afterwards attended and shone at the Council of Trent, and died in 1563. Antonio *Biblioth Hisp. nova*, tom. 2, p. 240. And yet this man, so zealous against heresy—such was the terror excited by the "expansiveness" of Protestantism—"was persecuted by the Inquisition at Valladolid in 1560, on suspicion of Lutheranism!" *Hist. Inquis. of Spain*, abridged from J. A. Llorente; Lond. 1826, p. 367.

‖ Ubicunque est talis character Deus ex pacto [adest et] concurrit ad effectum supernaturalem producendum. Bellarm. *de sacrament. Effectu* lib. 2 cap. 19.

who having read this challenge in Fitz-Herbert's book,* invited Mr. *Collington*, then reputed Archipresbyter, Mr. *Laithwait*, and Mr. *Faircloth*,—Jesuits, and Mr. *Leagume*, a secular Priest. All these being brought before the Archbishop, May 12, 1614, in the presence of the Right Reverend the Bishops of *London*, *Dunelm*, *Ely*, *Bath and Wells*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*, the said Records were given to them to see, feel, read and turn; and having considered all exactly, they declared that no exception could be taken against that book in their opinion; and the Archbishop desiring them to signify so much by letters to *Fitz-Herbert*, they promised to do it; as Mr. *Champney* relates the story. And the same Records are at this day, and always to be seen, if men will not be satisfied otherwise than by eyesight.

The Records produced by Mr. Mason being thus justified, we will take our measures by them to clear this point. First, our adversaries allow that the Bishops presiding in England at the beginning of Henry the VIIIth's reign, were lawful Bishops and legally ordained according to the Canons and rites of the Catholic Church. With *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, they begin their quarrel. Against him, and the Kings and Clergy of England, *Becan* insults thus: *Legitimè consecrati non estis. A quo enim? an a Rege? at is consecrandi potestatem non habet. An ab Episcopo Cantuarensi, vel aliquo simili? ne id quidem. Nam* Thomas Cranmerus, *qui sub* Henrico 8°. *Cantuarensem Episcopatum obtinuit, non fuit consecratus ab ullo Episcopo, sed a solo Rege intrusus et designatus; igitur quotquot ab eo postea consecrati sunt, non legitime, sed ex præsumptione consecrati sunt—You are not lawfully consecrated: for by whom were you? Whether by the King? But he has not power to consecrate: or by the Bishop of* Canterbury, *or some other such? Neither that truly: for* Thomas Cranmer *who under King* Henry VIII. *obtained the Bishopric of* Canterbury, *was not consecrated by any Bishop, but intruded and designed by the*

* Fitz-Herbert, *Append.* n. 13. Di. George Abbot is the Archbishop referred to.

† Martin Becan, a Jesuit, wrote *Controversia Anglicana de potestate Regis et Pontificis contra L. Andream, qui se Episcopum Eliensem vocat, pro defens. Card. Bellarmini;* (Moguntiæ 1612) which was denounced by the Faculty of Theology at Paris, and suppressed by Pope Paul V., until corrected. It advocates as usual the Deposition of Princes by the Pope, the releasing of subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, &c. &c.

*King alone; therefore as many as were afterward consecrated by him, were not consecrated lawfully, but by presumption.*

I cannot but note *Becan's* disingenuousness, in thus deluding his reader, as if he would have him believe, that the Kings of *England* were wont to take upon them to consecrate Bishops themselves, or to thrust into the government of Churches men not consecrated; contrary to what he knew well, or might easily know to be true, having Popes, Cardinals, Priests, and Jesuits to certify him of it, such as were *Clement* VII., *Paul* IV., Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons*, *Kellison*, whose manifold testimonies of *Cranmer* to have been a true Bishop, *Mason* relates, lib. 2, cap. 7, adding for farther evidence this following testimony of the time, place, and persons ordaining him, out of the Public Records:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Thomas Cranmervs consecratus* 30 *Martii*, 1533 | *Joh. Lincolniensi* |
| 24, *Hen. à.* | *Joh. Exoniensi* |
| | *Hen. Asaphensi.* |

Against all these evidences *Henry Fitz Symons* takes up the cudgels in defence of *Becan's* assertion, that *Cranmer* was not consecrated by any Bishop, but a mere Layman, intruded upon that See of *Canterbury* by *Henry VIIIth's* sole will. This he promises to demonstrate, *à gravissimorum totius gentis authorum monumentis et consularibus actis—by the testimonies of the most grave authors of the nation, and public Acts of Parliament.* Seeing these big words and knowing upon what subject, I could not but sigh and grieve, remembering how these Rhetoricians delude poor credulous people with such swelling phrases, sounding high in the ears of boys and women, and of womanish weak men; whereas being touched close they are found to be no better than a bubble, floating pompously, and containing nought but wind.

Where he promises the testimonies of the gravest authors of the nation, in favour of his pretension, he only brings one testimony; and of whom? of some impartial writer? No, but of *Sanders*,* the most passionate and bitter enemy of the Reformed

* Sander. *de schism.* lib. 3, pag. 296 [fol. 165, edit. Col. Agrip. 1585.]
Sanderi *de origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, &c. printed at Cologne, 1585; at Rome, 1586; at Ingoldstadt, 1588; at Cologne, 1590 and 1610, and in 8vo. This is the book so justly censured by learned Authors, for its infinite

Clergy that could be named. But even his testimony how much to Fitz Simons's purpose! He relates these words of him: Henricus VIII., *radix peccati, cum ab Ecclesia et sede Apostolica Regnum suum divisisset, decrevit ne quisquam electus in Episcopum bullas Pontificas, vel mandatum Apostolicum de consecratione requireret, sed regium tantum diploma afferret*—Henry *the eighth, the source of evil, having separated his kingdom from the Church, and from the See Apostolic, hath decreed, that no Bishop elect should look for Bulls from the* Pope *for his consecration, but only should bring the King's patent.* And here Fitz Simons stops fraudulently, pretending his unskilful reader should understand by those words, that the King was accustomed to give the title of Bishops without any consecration. But the words following of Sanders overthrow his purpose, which run thus:—*Sed Regium tantum diploma ut afferret, secundum quod à tribus Episcopis cum consensu Metropolitæ ordinatus, jubebatur lege comitiorum facta ad imitationem antiquorum canonum, esse verus Episcopus, nec alio modo ordinatum pro Episcopo agnosci oportere—That he should bring the King's mandate, according to which the person ordained by three Bishops with the consent of the Metropolitan, was by Act of Parliament made in imitation of ancient Canons, declared to be a true Bishop; and that any person otherwise ordained should not be taken for a Bishop.* And is this to say that *Henry* VIII. was in the habit of giving the title of Bishops to, and intruding upon Churches, persons without any consecration?

Truly this defence of *Becan* by Fitz Simons, is like the *cause* defended, both guilty of fraud and disingenuousness; so as we may call it *malæ causæ pejus patrocinium—of a bad*

number of *Falsehoods;* which, being left in many places imperfect, was supplied augmented, and corrected by *Ed. Rishton*: * * * Afterwards, the same being translated into French, and printed in 1673, gave occasion to Dr. Burnet to write his *History of the Reformation;* in the Appendix to the first Volume of which, you may read more both about *Sanders* and *Rishton*. (A. Wood.) Translator's Preface, p. xl. to *Vindication of the Church of England by Fr. Mason*, Lond. 1728.

Saunder's book is worthy of notice, as having been the common source of all the Continental misrepresentations respecting the History of the Reformation, Ribadeneira having transferred the substance of it into Spanish, Davanzati into Italian, and others into other languages.

*cause a worse defence.* *Kellison* is more ingenuous, saying thus:* *Cranmerum verè ordinatum non nego, quia ab Episcopis Catholicis munus consecrationis accepit, ita et vixisse eum et mortuum esse verum Episcopum fateor—I do not deny that Cranmer was truly ordained, having received his ordination from Catholic Bishops: so that I confess he lived and died a true Bishop.* Let now the author of *Britonomachy*, (I mean *Fitz Symons)* come and reconcile this piece of *Romanomachy.* In the mean time, be it concluded, that their testimonies against *Cranmer* are like those of the false witnesses against Christ, which *did not agree together*, (Mark xiv. 56.) And let that blessed Martyr, canonized by Christ for such, where he declared, *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness*, as *Cranmer* did for doing justice to his King and Country, in maintaining their right against the tyrannical usurpations of the Court of *Rome*;—let him, I say, enjoy in glory the indelible character of a Bishop, which all the malice of his adversaries will never be able to take from him. And let their calumny against the Church of *England* be confounded, wherewith they pretend that the ordination of our Clergy has been vitiated in that of *Cranmer.*

By this it appears, that all Bishops, made in King Henry the VIIIth's reign, were true and lawful Bishops, as being consecrated by three Bishops, and according to the accustomed rites of the Catholic Church, it being enacted then,† that *the consecrations should be solemnized with all due circumstance*, and moreover that *the Consecrators should give to the Consecrated all benedictions, ceremonies, and things requisite for the same.* And if anything essential were abolished or omitted, certainly *Sanders*, when speaking purposely on this point would not have concealed it. But he rather says plainly,‡ *it was King Henry's will that the Ceremony and solemn unction should as yet be used in Episcopal Consecration, after the manner of the Church.* But the Statute of Queen *Mary*§ puts the matter out of all doubt, enacting *that all such divine service and administration of Sacraments, as were most commonly used in this*

* Kellison, *in replic. contra Doct. Sut.* p. 30.
† Henr. VIII. c. 20.
‡ Sanders *de schism.* lib. 1, p. 297.
§ 1 Mariæ, Sess. 2, c. 2.

*realm of* England *in the last year of King* Henry VIII. *should be used and frequented through the whole Realm of* England *and all other the Queen's dominions, and no other in any other manner, form, or degree.* The framers of this Statute were of opinion that Holy Order was a Sacrament, and therefore was administered in Queen *Mary's* time, as in King *Henry's.* They will not pretend that any form essential was omitted in Queen *Mary's* time, and consequently must say the same of Orders given in King *Henry's* reign.

What Bishops, when, and by whom they were consecrated during King *Henry* VIIIth's time, Mr. *Mason* relates out of the Public Records; as *Thomas Cranmer,* in the Year 1533, as above mentioned; next after,

| | |
|---|---|
| Rowland Lee consec. Bp. of Lichfield, 14 of April,* 1534, by | Thos. Canterb. John Lincoln. Christ. Sidon. |
| George Brown cons. Archbish. of Dublin, 19 Mar. 1535, by | Thom. Canterb. John Roffens. Nichol. Sarum. |

And so of the rest, until the year 1545, every one being consecrated by three Bishops, and with the usual Ceremonies, and the great penalty of *premunire* being denounced by Act of Parliament † against any Bishop consecrating or consecrated otherwise.

* The 19th of April appears the more correct date: see Mason translated by Lindsay, p. 160; (bk. 2, ch. 12, § 3) and Godwin *de Præsulibus Angliæ,* p. 324, Cantab. 1743.

† 25 Henr. VIII. c. 20.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in King* Edward *the Sixth's time and after, proved to be legal and valid.*

THE greatest opposition is directed against the Ordination of our Clergy since the Reformation. Of the Ordinal,* or ceremonies of Ordination in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, Kellison thus speaks—*In King* Edward's *time neither matter nor form of Ordination was used, and so none were truly ordained.* Against this rash and slanderous censure of Kellison, I will produce the testimony of Vasquez and Bellarmine, men of greater credit and knowledge touching the matter and form of ordination. Vasquez declares the matter of Episcopal ordination to be only the imposition of hands, and the form, those words *Receive the Holy Ghost,* which are said by three Bishops together; and refers to *Major* and *Armilla* for the same opinion, proving it first out of Scripture, from 1 Tim. iv. 14, *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.* Out of which place † Vasquez thus argues solidly, *unde sequitur manifeste eam manuum impositionem esse materiam, ac proinde verba, quæ simul cum eâ proferuntur, esse formam. Nam gratia Sacramentalis in ipsa applicatione materiæ et formæ, et per ipsam confertur—Whence followeth manifestly, that such imposition of hands is the matter, and consequently the words pronounced with it the form; for sacramental grace is conferred in the very application of the matter and form and by it.* Then he proceeds to prove by testimonies of the Fathers, that three Bishops ought to concur in the ordination of a Bishop, and that what is not performed by all three, belongs not to the essential matter or form. But in all the Roman Pontifical, says he, no other ceremony is

* Vasquez, tom. 3, in 3 p. disp. 240 c. 5.
† Kellis. *reply to Dr. Sutlif,* fol. 31.

appointed to be performed by three Bishops, but only the imposition of hands; therefore that alone must be the matter, and consequently only the words pronounced with it the form of Episcopal Ordination.

That three Bishops are necessary for ordaining a Bishop, (which was a foundation laid by him for the former argument,) he proves, first, by the testimony of Pope Anacletus, affirming that the first *Archbishop* of *Jerusalem*, *James* called the just, brother of the Lord according to the flesh, was ordained by Peter, James, and John—Apostles; giving therein a rule to successors, that a Bishop should not be ordained by less than three Bishops. Anacletus adds, that he learned thus much from St. *Peter*, by whom he was himself Priested. Secondly, Pope Anicetus delivers the same, adding that it was so practised *instituente Domino—by the institution of Christ.** Thirdly, he alleges the first Council of *Nice*, with several other Councils and Fathers to the same purpose.

If you oppose, that the aforesaid words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, are too general for a form to ordain a Bishop; he answers, that being pronounced by three Bishops laying their hands upon the person ordained, they specify the degree of a Bishop, since thereby they signify, that they receive him to their own proper order and degree: the conjunction of three Bishops, in laying their hands upon the person ordained, being only proper to the ordaining of a Bishop, as he proves Disp. 243, c. 6. Thus much Vasquez respecting the *matter* and *form* of Episcopal Ordination.†

Bellarmine contributes not a little to the truth of this verity (though with less coherence to another doctrine which he supposes, as I will shew hereafter:) For, speaking of Sacraments in general,‡ he says, *that all Sacraments of the New Law are composed of visible things, as* matter, *and of words, as* form.

* Anaclet. in *Epist.* 2 *decretali*, c. 2, Anicetus, Damas. et alii apud *Vasquez*, 243, c. 6, an. 63.

[Sall appears to have taken these authorities of Vasquez without objecting (as he might have done at starting) to their *authenticity*. An acknowledgment to this effect by *Contius*, as regards the Epistle of Anacletus, is omitted, in the Paris Edition (1687) of the Canon Law, where it is quoted *Distinct.* 99, §. 1: vide Blondel's *Censura Epist. Decretalium* (Genevæ, 1625) pp. 121, 130, 202.]

† Vasquez, *Disp.* 246, n. 60. ‡ Bellarm. *de Sacram. in Gen.* lib. 1, c. 18.

And, coming to speak of Holy Orders, he says,* that *there is no mention in Scripture of any visible sign that may be the matter of it, but only the imposition of hands.* Whence it follows, that Holy Order being of Divine institution, and declared in Scripture, as he proves well, the essential constitutes of it must be likewise in Scripture. And therefore no other visible sign or matter proportionable for it, being in Scripture, it follows that the imposition of hands only must be the matter of it.

How well this agrees with what Bellarmine in the same place supposes, but proves not, that in the ordination of a Priest, not only the imposition of hands, but also the delivering of the Chalice and Patin belong to the essential matter, let him consider. He quotes *Dominic Soto*, and others, saying, that the delivering the Chalice with wine, and the Patin with bread, is the only matter; and that the words pronounced by the Bishop delivering them is the form of Ordination of the Priest: the words are these—Accipe potestatem offerendi Sacrificium—*take power of offering a sacrifice.* Bellarmine proves efficaciously, that the imposition of hands is a matter essential to Ordination; but supposes, without exhibiting any proof of it, that the delivering of the Chalice and Patin is also a part essential to the matter, affirming against Soto, that not only the delivering of the instruments, but also the imposition of hands is a matter essential in the Ordination. This I say seems not to agree with what he said before, that in Scripture no mention was made of any Symbol, that could be taken for a matter of Ordination, but only the imposition of hands. And truly the proof which he alleges out of Soto or others, that the words of their Pontifical—*accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis*, are contained in those others of our Saviour at the last Supper—*hoc facite in meam commemorationem—Do this in remembrance of me*, is notoriously weak: *gratis dicitur, gratis negatur; as it is said without ground, so it may be denied without regard.*

Now as to the form of Ordination, Bellarmine tells us,† that all agree in taking for *form* the words that are pronounced by the Minister when he exhibits the sensible signs or matter; he adds, that though the Scripture does not mention particular words to

* Bellarm. *de Sacram. Ordinis*, c, 9. † *De Sacrament. Ordinis*, lib. 1, c. 9,

be pronounced in each Order, yet the ancient Fathers of the Church, Ambrose, Jerom, and Augustine, expressly teach, that a form of words suitable to each Order is required, and was practised so in the ancient Roman Ordinals, and that this is the practise to this day in the Ordinal of the Church of England, which in King Edward the VIth's. time was disposed according to the more qualified ancient Ordinals used in the Catholic Church. In the Ordination of Deacons, the Bishop lays his hands severally upon the head of every one of them kneeling before him, saying—*Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,* &c. After delivering to every one the New Testament, he says, *Take thou authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself.*

In ordaining Priests, the Bishop, and the Priests present, lay their hands severally upon the head of every one who receives the Order of Priesthood, the receivers kneeling, and the Bishop saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of his holy Sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

In the consecration of Bishops, the Archbishop and Bishops present lay their hands upon the head of the elected Bishop, kneeling before them and the Archbishop, saying,—*Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,* Amen. *And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands; for God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.*

The Church of *England* being thus exact in observing the *form* and *matter* essential to holy Orders, it appears how rash and false was Kellison in saying, that in King Edward's time

neither *matter* nor *form* of Ordination was used. How vain and windy is Fitz Symons's flourish!*—*cum in Sacramento mutatur materia, forma, intentis, faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, quæ ejus essentiam conficiunt, desinit esse Sacramentum, omnium qui ante te vixerunt, tecum vivunt, et post te victuri sunt, orthodoxe sententium consensu—When in the Sacrament the matter, form, and intention of doing what the Church does, (which makes the essence of it) are changed, it ceases to be a Sacrament by the common consent of all Catholics who lived before you, do live with you, and after you shall live.* Truly Fitz Symons seemed to study more how his phrase† should be round and sounding than to furnish it with sense and truth; so as without injury I may say here of him, *dat sine mente sonum.* Setting aside what belongs to the *matter* and *form;* who told Fitz Symos that the Ministers of the Church of England, in the administration of Sacraments, have not an intention to do what the true Church of God does? And though their intention were to do expressly what their own Church of England does, and not what the Church of Rome does, Bellarmine declares *that* not to be an alteration annulling the Sacrament:‡ *Non est opus intendere quod facit Ecclesia* Romana, *sed quod facit vera Ecclesia quæcunque illa sit, vel quod Christus instituit, vel quod faciunt Christiani; imo si quis intendat facere, quod aliqua Ecclesia particularis et falsa, ut Genevensis, et intendat non facere, quod Ecclesia* Romana, *respondeo etiam id sufficere: nam qui intendit facere quod Ecclesia* Genevensis, *intendit facere quod Ecclesia universalis—It is not necessary,* (says Bellarmine) *to have an intention of doing what the Church of* Rome *does, but what the true Church does, whichsoever that be; nay, if he should intend to do what some particular false Church, which he thinks to be true does, as that of* Geneva (says the Cardinal) *even that will suffice: for he who intends to do what the Church of* Geneva *does, intends to do what the universal Church does, of which he believes the Church of* Geneva *to be a member.* Then Fitz Symons was mistaken when

* Fitz Symons *Britonomach.* p. 319.

† This is the usual style of Papal writers, though more especially in *Protestant* countries.

‡ Bellarm. *de Sacram. in Gen.* lib. 1, c. 27.

he said, that the supposed alteration in the intention of the Ministers would annul the Sacrament by consent of all Catholics, if he will not have Bellarmine to be put out of that number; not to take notice of his extravagancy in making the intention of the Minister an essential constitute of the Sacrament, nor of the dismal confusion and discomfort which he brings upon his proselytes, by making the effects of the Sacraments to depend upon the aforesaid intention; whereof no man receiving a Sacrament can have a full certainty: the words of the Minister I can hear and his actions I can see, but of his *intention* I can never be entirely assured.

Then if the *matter* and *form* of Orders necessary and essential be retained in our Church, as we have seen, and no reasonable doubt is left of the *intention* of our Ministers to do what the Church of England does, which, according to Bellarmine's supposition now mentioned, is sufficient,—how comes Fitz Symons to say, that in the matter, and form, and intention of our Ministers, such an alteration is made as annuls our Sacraments?

## CHAPTER VII.

*How far the form of Ordination used in the Church of* England, *agrees with that of the ancient Church, declared in the IVth Council of* Carthage; *and how much the form prescribed by the Roman Pontifical of this time differs from the ancient form.*

As in many other points, so in this of Ordination especially, I cannot but admire how bold the Romish writers are in imposing upon the ignorant, that themselves are the observers of antiquity, and the Reformed Churches the contemners of it: whereas indeed the main purpose of the Reformation was, to cut off the superstitious innovations of the Romish Church, and to adhere to the Christian simplicity and gravity of the Primitive Apostolic Church. This will appear evidently by comparing the present form of Ordination used in the Church of *England*, with the most qualified of ancient formularies established in the IVth Council of *Carthage*, celebrated by 214 Fathers, (whereof St. Augustine was one) in the year 398, Honorius and Arcadius being Emperors: of which council Baronius gives this honourable character.—*Extitit hujusmodi* Carthaginensi *Concilium, veluti Ecclesiasticæ promtuarium disciplinæ, non quidem recens inventæ, sed antiquioribus usu receptæ, atque ad pristinam consuetudinem revocatæ**—*This Council of* Carthage *was as it were a treasure of Ecclesiastical Discipline, not newly invented but used by the ancient, and restored to the former custom.* He adds that *this Council was taken as a pattern by the other Churches, both Eastern and Western.*

I have perused carefully this Council, and compared it with our form of Ordination set down in the Book of Common Prayer; as also with the form of Ordination used in the Roman Church, as contained in their latter Pontifical, published by the authority

* Baron. *Annal.* 398, n. 68.

of Pope Clement VIII., and printed at Rome in the year 1595. *Clement* complains of many errors which had crept into the former Pontificals, and purposes to mend them in this latter, according to the rule of ancient integrity: for which purpose it seems no better rule could be taken than the aforesaid Council of *Carthage*, for the reasons before cited from *Baronius*.

Now if we shew, that our form of Ordination is more agreeable to that of the Council of *Carthage*, than the form prescribed in the Roman Pontifical, we shall prove that we adhere to the most warrantable antiquity, and consequently are right in this point. I will not dispute now about those called inferior Orders in the Roman Church; both because none will pretend that they are essential to Church discipline, and the duties appropriated to them are performed in both Churches, sometimes by persons constituted in no Order, and sometimes by those in sacred Orders. I will, therefore, only treat of the three sacred Orders proposed by *Suarez*, out of *Optatus Milevitanus*, as necessary to the constitution of an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, to wit, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

And, beginning with Deacons, the said Council in the IVth Chapter has only these words; *Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus Episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur**— *When a Deacon is ordained, only the Bishop, who blesseth or ordaineth him, is to lay his hand on his head, because he is not ordained to Priesthood but to ministry.* Here we have three things declared, the *Ministry*, the *matter*, the *order:* the Minister is only the Bishop; the *matter*, or the exterior sign, is the imposition of hands; the *form* is not described in particular, but is included in the word *benedicit:* for to bless here is nothing else but to pronounce the words by which the power of this Order is conferred on the person ordained; all which is exactly performed in the Ordination of Deacons by the Church of *England*, as we have seen in the Chapter preceding.

Now with regard to the Ordination of Priests, the Council decrees thus: (§ 3.) *Presbyter cum ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput illius tenente, etiam omnes*

* Apud *Concill. Gen. studio Labbei*, tom. ii. col. 1200.

*Presbyteri qui presentes sunt manus suas juxta manus Episcopi, super caput illius teneant—When a Priest is ordained, the Bishop blessing him and laying his hand on his head, the Priests present are likewise to lay their hands on his head together with the Bishop's hands.* Of this decree likewise the Church of *England* is as observant, as the *Roman* is negligent: for in their present Pontifical above-mentioned of Clement VIII., I see no mention made of what the Council decrees, that the Priests present should lay their hands, together with the Bishop's hands, upon the head of him who is to be priested, and their practice runs accordingly. But in lieu of this ceremony, decreed by the Council of *Carthage*, I find many others substituted in the aforesaid Pontifical, of which the Council makes no mention; such as those about the amict, albe, girdle, maniple, stole, cope, candles, crosses, oil, and the like. And which is more remarkable, the Council makes no mention of that great and chief ceremony used in the *Roman* Church and appointed in the aforesaid Pontifical, and wherein some of their authors will have the very essence of Priestly ordination to consist, (as we have seen above out of Bellarmine,) that the Bishop is to deliver to the person to be priested, after having anointed his hands with holy oil, the Chalice with wine and water, and the Patin over it with the host or wafer, saying, *Accipe Potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis—Receive power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead.* If this ceremony were so essential, or the power of sacrificing were so inherent to priestly ordination, as the present Church of *Rome* will have it to be, certainly that grave and venerable Council of *Carthage* would not have passed it over with so deep a silence, when it descended to particularize the duties and performances of inferior Ministers not so necessary as those of Priests, as may be seen in the ensuing Chapters of that Council from the Vth Chapter forward.

Finally, with respect to the Ordination of Bishops, the aforesaid Council of *Carthage* has these words, (cap. 2,) *Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant et teneant Evangeliorum Codicem super caput et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes Episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant—When a Bishop is ordained, let*

*two Bishops put and hold the Book of the Gospels over his head and neck, and one blessing him, let all the other Bishops who are there present, touch his head with their hands.* Here three things are required, the giving or placing of the Book, the imposition of hands, and the blessing to be given; whereof the placing of the book is no essential part, as *Vasquez* declares,* and so both Churches deviate something from the form mentioned: for if we are to believe *Vasquez*, and the Pontifical which he quotes, the book of the Gospel is put upon the shoulders of the Bishop consecrated, not by the Bishops consecrating, but by one of the Chaplains; and he relates out of Pope Clement, that anciently it was performed by the Deacons, who are no ministers of this Order. Neither do I find by Mr. *Mason*, that the Pontifical which he saw contradicts what *Vasquez* says; yet I find it otherwise in the Roman Pontifical before-mentioned of Clement VIII., to be seen in the Library of Dublin University; where it is ordered, that the Bishop consecrating, together with the Bishops assisting, do place the book over the neck and shoulders of the Bishop consecrated, without saying any word, one of the Chaplains of the Bishop elect kneeling behind him, and holding the book, until it be given to his hands; and then the Bishop consecrating, and the other Bishops assisting him, touch with both their hands the head of the Bishop elect, saying, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum—Receive the Holy Ghost.* And on the supposition that the mode of placing the book is not essential to this Ordination, certainly the form prescribed by the Church of *England* in this particular is very decent and apposite to the purpose of this action; the Archbishop, or other Bishop consecrating, delivering the Bible to the Bishop consecrated, saying, *Give heed unto reading, exhortation, and doctrine,*† with other wholesome admonitions respecting his pastoral duty.

Now in reference to the essential parts of this Ordination, which consist in the imposition of hands as *matter*, and the benediction, or words pronounced by the Bishop consecrating, as *form*, the Church of *England* is exact in observing the form prescribed by the aforesaid Council of *Carthage;* since it orders that all the Bishops present should lay their hands upon the

* *Vasquez* in 3. p. disp. 240, n. 63.

† 1 Tim. iv. 13.

Bishop elect, and only the Archbishop, or Bishop consecrating, should bless or pronounce the words of the form, saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Here the Roman Pontifical deviates from the aforesaid form prescribed by the Council of *Carthage*, ordering, that both the Bishop consecrating, and the Bishops assisting should pronounce the words of the form, saying, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*

By this we see, how exact the Church of England is, in observing all the essential and necessary parts and ceremonies prescribed, by that renowned Council of *Carthage*, for the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. As for other ceremonies not essential, the Council of *Trent* itself declares, that even in the administration of Sacraments (whereof they will have Orders to be a part) they may be altered by the Church, as the condition of matters, times, and places may require. Neither is this to be understood of the Church Universal, congregated in a general Council only, but also of each particular Church; whence proceeded the great variety of Rites, in things indifferent, amongst the ancient, and even modern Christians of several places and orders, approved by that grave sentence of Gregory the Great, *in una fide nihil officit Sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.** And as the *Roman* Church upon this account introduces new Rites, why may not that of *England* abolish others, especially such as are found to be superstitious? for which the Canon Law † gives this warrant; *Docemur exemplo Ezechiæ frangentis serpentem æneum, quæ in superstitionem vertuntur, illa sine tarditate aliquâ, et cum magnâ autoritate à posteris destrui posse —We are taught by example of Hezekiah, that such things as turn to superstition may be without delay, and with authority, extirpated in after ages.* As a good husbandman cuts off, not only rotten, but superfluous branches, which may suck away the sap from the main tree, so any Church that is free and inde-

* Lib. 1. Epist. 41.

† [Decreti pars 1.] Distinct 63 [§. 28.] *Quia.* The passage in the text is not exactly in the same language as what appears in the edition of the text of Gratian, which we have consulted, tom. i. p. 86. Paris, 1687,—but the variations are immaterial.

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pendent (such as this of *England* is) may cut off superstitious and superfluous rites and ceremonies, which by their multiplicity may distract both the Ministers and Congregation, and take their attention from the main object of their devotion. And certainly, whoever considers the vast number of ceremonies used now by the Roman Church and prescribed in their Pontifical, will find it a task not easy for even a good capacity to comprehend and practice them all; and very hard to think of elevating the mind withal to prayer or meditation.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*How far the Church of* England *agrees with the Romish in matter of Ordination; wherein they differ; and how absurd the pretension of Romanists is, that our difference herein with them should annul our Orders.*

As the Church of *England* did not think it convenient to follow that of *Rome*, in all its superfluous ceremonies, especially such of them as are noxious, and opposed to the sincerity of Christian discipline; so it does not grudge to go along and conform with it in what they retain of ancient integrity.

In many things we agree with them: *First*, that only Bishops are to confer Orders. *Secondly*, that none should be promoted to Orders without the title of a benefice, or sufficient patrimony (which is far more exactly observed in the *English* than in the Romish Church.) *Thirdly*, that the persons to be ordained should be examined as to behaviour and ability. *Fourthly*, that certain times and days be appointed for Ordination. *Fifthly*, that the persons to be ordained ought to appear in the Church. *Sixthly*, that they receive these orders on their knees. *Seventhly*, that they receive the Communion. All this is commonly observed in both Churches (but more exactly and indispensably in the *English*) as to Orders in general.

Now as to particular Orders we agree in the following points, as to Deacons: *First*, that the Archdeacon presents them to the Bishop. *Secondly*, that the Bishop enquires of the Archdeacon, whether he knows them to be worthy of that Order. *Thirdly*, that the Bishop admonishes the Congregation, that if any person has any thing to say against them, he should declare it. *Fourthly*, that the Bishop instructs them in the duty which they are to perform. *Fifthly*, that Litanies are offered up, and the Bishop exhorts the Congregation to pray for the persons to be ordained, that they may be fit Ministers in that sacred Order. *Sixthly*, that the Bishop gives them the Book of the Gospels, and power to read them in the Church of God. *Seventhly*, that one of the

Deacons newly ordained should read the Gospel. Herein we agree. But we differ from the Roman Church—*First*, where they add to the Litanies the Invocation of saints and angels. *Secondly*, where power is given to the Deacons to read the Gospels for the dead. *Thirdly*, that what is not expressly delivered by the Roman formulary is more clearly expressed by the *English:* as for example, the Order of Deacons in the former is given by these words—*Receive the Holy Ghost for power to resist the devil and his temptations in the Name of the Lord*, which being too general, and common to all Christians, is made more proper and apposite to the function of Deacons, by these other words used in the English Ordinal—*Receive thou authority to exercise the work of a Deacon in the Church of God committed to thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Fourthly*, that we reduce the tedious variety of vestments and ceremonies used in the Roman Church, to a more grave and decent form, and more suitable to Christian simplicity.

As to the Order of Priesthood, while agreeing with them in the essential parts of the *matter* and *form*, and some indifferent ceremonies, we differ from them—*First*, that a Priest with them is anointed with oil. *Secondly*, that power is given him to offer a proper sacrifice, and really propitiatory, as well for the dead as for the living; of all which no mention is made in the aforesaid Council of *Carthage*. *Thirdly*, that with them only the Bishop lays his hand on the head of the Priest to be ordained; but with us all the Priests present lay their hands upon his head together with the Bishop's hands, according to the express order of the Council of *Carthage*.

Finally, with respect to the Ordination of Bishops, though agreeing with them in the essential parts of matter and form, belonging to that Order, and in some accidental ceremonies as before declared, we disagree with them in some considerable superstructures: *First*, that in both Churches a mandate is required for receiving this Order; but in the *Romish* from the Pope, in the English from the King. *Secondly*, in both Churches an oath is required,* which in the Romish is in favour of the

* A good historical view of this oath, the stringency of which (and we may in

Pope, in the English in favour of the King. *Thirdly*, in both Churches an examen is premised; and though the Romish pretends to follow the Council of *Carthage* herein, yet they insert their Decretal Epistles and obedience to be performed to the Bishop of *Rome*, of which no mention is made in that Council. *Fourthly*, they use an heap of vestments and ceremonies, of which neither the Apostles, nor primitive Churches ever had notice; which are too tedious to relate and more so to practice. *Finally* and chiefly, they demand a new Symbol or Creed, coined in the Council of Trent, to be professed by him who is to be ordained Bishop, containing, among other articles, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Indulgences, Obedience to the Pope of *Rome* —articles never mentioned by the Apostles, nor by the ancient Creeds, nor by the Council of Carthage, nor by any of the first four General Councils.

Now, reader, consider how rude and rash are the cries of the vulgar Romish writers and preachers against our Orders, as invalid for not conforming with the whole heap of their ceremonies, though in the substantial and essential parts we agree. For besides the intrinsic falsity of their assertion, it brings a manifest ruin and nullity upon *all their own Orders;* since both we and they suppose, that inferior Orders may not be given, but by the Bishops, and Bishops may not be made but by other true and lawful Bishops. Then if the whole bulk of ceremonies and requisites prescribed in the present Roman Pontifical (of *Clement* VIII., above mentioned) be necessary for a valid Ordination of a Bishop, it follows evidently, that there is no lawful Bishop, and consequently no lawful Priest, or Deacon, at present in the Church of *Rome.* This consequence I prove thus: no Bishop was ordained after the rites, ceremonies, and requisites (above mentioned in the Roman *Pontifical)* for three hundred and more years in the ancient *Roman* Church; then, if the aforesaid stock of ceremonies and requisites be essential to a valid Ordination, no lawful Bishop was made during all that time in that Church; and it being necessary, as is supposed before, that Bishops must

this case add its agreeableness) is acknowledged by the learned Franciscan, *Peter Walsh*, will be found appended to Mendham's Life of S. Pius V. London, 1832; the *Digest on the State of Ireland* also deserves consulting, pt. 2, pp. 1—90.

be made by other lawful Bishops, it follows evidently that all the train of Bishops, or men so called by the *Roman* Church, in after ages, were no true Bishops, and consequently that no Priests, or Deacons, made by them, were true Priests or Deacons.

That Bishops were not ordained after the present rites and ceremonies of the Roman Pontifical for the first three hundred and many years after in the Roman Church (which is the ground of all this discourse) requires no more proof than to read over the Roman Martyrology, which used to be publicly read in their Churches; or the Lives of Popes, written by *Platina;* or any other of their historians, where you shall see, that the present heap of ceremonies, rites, and requisites, prescribed in the said Pontifical, was never introduced at once, but successively; several Popes in several times and ages, signalizing their reigns with new rites, ceremonies, and requisites, whereof their very different Pontificals, published in different ages, may be a further evidence. Of whose great disconformity that famous compiler of ceremonies, *(Episcopus Pientinus,)* employed by Innocent the VIIIth, gives this remarkable testimony in the Preface to his Pontifical, speaking to the said *Innocent: Pontificalis libri emendationem (beatissime Pater) tuo jussu aggressus sum, opus sane laboriosum, varium, atque ut multis fortasse gratum, ita et invidia plenum. Rei enim vetustate, Ecclesiarum multitudine, temporum et Prælatorum varietate effectum est, ut vix duo aut tres codices inveniantur qui idem tradunt. Eodem modo, quot libri, tot varietates; ille deficit, hic superabundat; alius nihil omnino de eâ re habet, raro aut nunquam conveniunt*—I have taken upon me (most holy Father) by your*

* Episcopus Pientinus *in proœmio Pontificalis ad Innocent.* "Primam Pontificalis editionem Augustinus *Patricius* et Jo. Burckardus sub Innocentio VIII. curârunt. Inscribitur *liber Pontificalis editus diligentia* Aug. Patricii de Piccolominibus Episc. Pientini, et Jo. Burckardi; Romæ 1485. Tum prodiit ex emendatione Jacobi de Luciis et J. Burckardi, iterum Romæ; 1487. *Biblioth. ritualis concin. a Fr. A. Zaccaria;* (Romæ 1776) tom. 1, p. 164.

This Pontifical seems to have formed the ground-work of that of which Clement VIII. published so splendid an edition in 1595. Augustin Patricius was celebrated also as a Master of the Ceremonies, having been the compiler of the *Liber Ceremoniorum Eccles. Rom.*—Oudin mentions an earlier Edition of his Pontifical and its superiority, in some respects, to all preceding:—"Sola vero prima editio Romana anni 1479. Pontificalis hujus opus genuinum Aug.

*command the Reformation of the Pontifical book, a work indeed laborious, various, and as perhaps grateful to many; so likely to beget envy too: for it has come to pass by the Antiquity of the subject, the multitude of Churches, and the diversities of times and Prelates, that scarcely two or three books can be found which deliver the same thing: as many books as there are, so many are the differences; one is deficient, another superabundant, another has nothing at all upon this subject: so that they seldom or never agree.*

By this (Reader) you may see how blind the presumption of Romanists is in pretending that our Orders should be considered null for not conforming with the rites and ceremonies of their present Pontifical; whereas upon that very account the ordination of their own Bishops and Clergy, in preceding ages, must have been null, and consequently their present Bishops and Clergy, derived from them and depending upon them, must partake of the same nullity.

Patricii Piccolominei dici ac censeri debet, cum plurima aliis editionibus lapsu temporum accreverint, mutata sint, quæ ad Aug. Piccolomineum non spectant." He was elected Bishop of Pienza in 1483, and died in 1496. Oudin *Comment. de scripp. Eccles.* tom. 3, col. 2657.

Thus Patricius in one age, and Oudin in another, complain of change, change!

## CHAPTER IX.

*That the Succession of Bishops and Clergy, since the Reformation, is much more sure and unquestionable in the* English *Church than in the Romish.*

If men had a due regard to their own defects, and of the Reformation of them, they would busy themselves less in finding fault with their neighbours. And if the Ministers and writers of the Roman Church, did but reflect sufficiently upon the lamentable corruptions introduced, and enthronized among themselves, they would be less bold in casting dirt in the face of others, who with more right and ground may cast it on them.

I have shewn in the preceding Chapters, by rules and principles generally received, that the form of Ordination used in the Church of *England* since the Reformation is legal and valid, as comprehending the essential parts belonging to each Order; and that in the ceremonial part we are more exact in observing the rules of antiquity and of the primitive Christian Church, than the Romish party. Now it remains to shew, that the Succession of our Bishops and Clergy from those of unquestioned legality before the Reformation, and the due Ordination of them, according to the said rules and rites, is more clear and unquestionable with us than with the Roman Church.

As for the Bishops of England Mr. *Mason* gives an exact account of their Succession and lawful Ordination; the time and place of it; the persons consecrating them, running through several Dioceses, especially that of *Canterbury*, from the time he published his book, which was in the year 1638, to the time of King Henry VIII., when the validity of Ordination was not questioned: grounding his narrative upon the authentic Records kept in London. And in the same Records may be found a similar account of the ensuing Ordinations from Mr. *Mason's* time to this day.

A like statement will be found in the several Registries of the Churches of *Ireland* from our days up to the aforesaid time of

Henry VIII.; and with respect to the prime Church that of *Armagh*, I found the ensuing account of the Succession and Ordination of Arch-Bishops in it, from the present Arch-Bishop, the most Reverend Father in God *James* Lord Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* Primate of all *Ireland* (to the great comfort and benefit of it; since the blindest passion cannot fail to see, in his Grace, the idea of a most renowned and perfect Prelate.)—In the hands of his worthy Vicar General and Judge of his Prerogative Court, the noble and learned *Dudley Loftus*, Doctor in Laws, I found, I say, the account following of his Grace's lineal succession from the Bishops of unquestioned authority in Queen Mary's time.

*James Margetson*, consecrated the 27th of January, 1660; by *John Bramhall*, Arch-Bishop of Armagh, &c., in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick in Dublin.

*John Bramhall*, Doctor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of Derry, in the Chapel of the Castle of Dublin, the 26th of May, 1634, by *James Usher*, Arch-Bishop of Armagh, &c.

*James Usher*, Doctor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of Meath, at Droghedah, in the Church of S. Peter, anno 1621, by *Christopher Hampton*, Arch-Bishop of Armagh, &c.

*Christopher Hampton*, Doctor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of Derry, May 5, 1613, in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, by *Thomas Jones*, Arch-Bishop of Dublin, &c.

*Thomas Jones*, Doctor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of Meath, in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, the 12th of May, 1584, by *Adam Loftus*, Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin, &c.

*Adam Loftus*, Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin, was consecrated Arch-Bishop of Armagh in the Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, anno 1562, by *Hugh Curwin*, Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin, &c.

*Hugh Curwin*, Doctor of Laws, was consecrated Arch-Bishop of Dublin, the 18th of September, 1555, being the third of Queen Mary; together with *James Turbirwill*, Bishop of Exeter, and *William Glinn*, Bishop of Bangor. Each one of the other Bishops of Ireland can give a similar account of their lawful Ordination and lineal Succession from the Bishops of unquestioned authority; in King Henry the VIIIth's, and Queen Mary's time, no exception is known to have been taken against the legality of any of them; and the laws being so severe, and the penalties of *premunire* so heavy against any Bishop who would enter other-

wise than by the rites and requisites above mentioned and justified, that it is morally incredible that any one would permit any defect to intervene in his Consecration which might bring upon him so great a damage.

It is not so with the Bishops or *Popes* of *Rome*. We have not only conjectures, but clear evidences by a learned and exact pen of their own party, that none of the Bishops or Popes, who usurped that See from Gregory the XIII. was a lawful Bishop or Pope. The treatise penned upon this subject in Latin, and dedicated to King James, bore this title—THE NEW MAN, *or a Supplication from an unknown person, a Roman Catholic, unto* James *the Monarch of* Great Britain, *and from him to the Emperor, Kings, and Princes of the Christian world, touching the causes and reasons that will argue the necessity of a General Council to be forthwith assembled against him who now usurps the Papal Chair under the name of* Paul V.—This treatise being published by order of so excellent a Prince, as the world knew King James to be, it were a blind insolence to say it should not be real and unfeigned; and a treatise so destructive to the credit and interest of the Roman Court, being not disproved for the space of nine years by any of that party, as reported by Mr. *William Crashaw*, translator of the said treatise from Latin into English, in the year 1622, nor to this day by any that we know —it is a clear argument that they wanted means to gainsay the truth of it. I will reduce to a brief sum the heads of his proof, as well to matter of fact as of law, that the election of Pope *Sixtus* V., succeeding Gregory XIII., was null and invalid; and, consequently, that the Cardinals created by him were no true Cardinals, nor the Popes elected by such Cardinals true Popes.

For ground of this discourse it is to be premised, that any Simoniacal contract intervening in the election of a Pope, such an election is thereby rendered null and invalid, as is declared in the Bull of Julius II. issued* against Simoniacal elections of the Pope, whose words are as follows:—

* A.D. 1504, *Bullarium Romanum*, tom 1, p. 478, edit. Lugd. 1655.

He was preceded in the Popedom by Alexander VI., who died in 1503, and "in Simony far surpassed all his predecessors, exposing to sale all Ecclesiastical Preferments, Dignities, Benefices, and even Bishoprics; nay, admitting none into the sacred College, but such as had purchased that dignity with ready

"If it shall hereafter fall out through the Devil's malice—the enemy of mankind, or the ambition or covetousness of the elector, that when we, or any of our Successors shall, by God's appointment, be removed from the Government of the Church on earth, the election of the new *Pope* be made and done, either by him that is chosen, or by any other or more of the College of Cardinals, by the heresy of Simoniacal contract; giving, promising, or receiving any goods of any kind, or lands, or castles, or offices, or benefices; or by making any other promise or obligation, of what kind soever, whether they do it by themselves, or another, by a few or by many; and whether the election be accomplished by the voices of two parts of the Cardinals divided in three, or by the uniform consent or voices of them all, whether it be done by way of assumption, or adoration, yea though there be no writing made at all,

"*We determine, define, and declare:*

"That not only the election or assumption, so made, shall be from that very moment void, and of none effect; and that no power or faculty shall accrue to him, thereby thrust in, of any administration, government, or jurisdiction, in matters spiritual or temporal; but also that it shall and may be lawful for any Cardinal present at the said election, to except against the said intruder, and to call him into question for the crime of Simony, as of a true and undoubted Heresy, that so being an Heretic, he may be of all men accounted as no Pope, or Bishop of Rome, &c. Neither shall such Simoniacal election be any time afterwards made valid by any subsequent enthronization, or coronation; no, not by any adoration made, or obedience or homage done or sworn to him by the Cardinals; no, not though it be done by the whole College; nor by any action that may or can be done, nor by any continuance or course of time. But it shall and may be lawful to all and every Cardinal, yea even those that were present and consenting to the said Simoniacal election or assumption, not

money." And yet he appears to have been very much of a—Gentleman: "His language was attracting, and his eloquence irresistible. He made it his study to accommodate himself to the temper and genius of others; with the grave and serious he was so too, but jocose and facetious with men of pleasantry." The Church of Rome, whom this Pope so well represented, has generally a face ready to suit all easy examiners. See Bower's *History of the Popes*, vol. 7, p. 369.

only before but even after any such enthronization, adoration, homage, or obedience done; and not to them alone, but to the whole Clergy and people of Rome, and to all the subjects of the Roman Church, and to all the Lords, Governors, Captains, and Commanders, as well of the City and Palace of St. *Angelo* within the City, as of all other Castles, towers, and fortresses; and to all ministers and officers whatsoever, to refuse to yield him any honour, homage, or obedience, and to revolt from him so chosen and enthronized, and from all obedience to him; and that safely and lawfully they may hold, esteem, and eschew him, and all fellowship with him, as a Magician, Ethnic, Publican, and Arch-heretic. And further we determine, that, by the authority hereof, it shall and may be lawful for the Cardinals, even those that were present at the Simoniacal election, and consented not thereunto; and for those that shall afterwards dissent and depart from him, to appoint forthwith a General Council, and to call and summon the same into such a convenient place as to them shall seem expedient, &c."

Thus far the words of Julius's Bull.

Now as to the fact, the said author tells us a thing known to millions of men, that when Gregory XIII. was deceased, and the Cardinals were assembled in the Conclave for the election of a new Pope, the said *Sixtus Quintus* being then the Cardinal Montalto, in order that he himself might be chosen, plainly bought off *Aloisius* the great Cardinal of Aste, his voice and the voice of all the Cardinals depending upon him, which were known to be far the greater number, and able to carry it with whomsoever they voted. And in consideration thereof, he promised him, not in a word alone, but by open writing subscribed and ratified under his own hand, that whereas there was a principal Prelate one Hieronymus Matthæus, whose possibility was great to be a Cardinal, but then was at no little odds with Cardinal *Aloisius; Sixtus* or *Montalto* solemnly promised him, that during his reign he would never make the aforesaid *Matthæus* Cardinal, if he (Aloisius) by his own voice and his accomplices would make him Pope.* Cardinal *Aloisius* accepted of the condition; and so the

* We find the statement of this anonymous writer substantially corroborated by Ciaconius:—"Purpuram accepit a Sixto, et accepisset proculdubio antea a Gregorio prædecessore, si Aloysius Card. Estensis, ratus se ab ipso aliquando

bargain was concluded; and accordingly he gave him his voice and prevailed with all his party and faction to do the same; and so Sixtus carried it from all competitors, and was chosen Pope; which was so openly known, that Aloisius never hesitated to say in a public presence, that *Pope Sixtus was his creature and the work of his own hands.* This being so, every one may see that it is the very case declared in the aforesaid Bull of Julius II. against Simoniacal elections.

If it be objected that the aforesaid decree of Julius binds not, but where the fact is famous, evident, and notorious; it is answered, that the aforesaid fact of *Sixtus* was made public and notorious in manner following:—*Sixtus*, after his election, violated his faith, and broke the promise made to the Cardinal of *Aste;* and, contrary thereto, made *Hieronymus Matthæus* Cardinal; which the Cardinal of *Aste* took so to heart, that through anger and grief he fell deeply sick:* but before his death, to recompense the new and ill-made Pope as he deserved, he sent the agreement and covenant which he had from *Sixtus*, to Philip II. King of Spain, even the very original itself; who hereupon, in the year 1589, sent the Duke of Suez† to Rome as his ambassador extraordinary, to give *Sixtus* notice hereof, and to intimate to him the pressing necessity of a General Council for the declaration of his election to be Simoniacal; and to require the Lords,

spretum, vel sane non, ut par erat, reveritum, non se opposuisset. Imo in comitiis post Gregorii obitum, cum de Card. Peretto assumendo ageretur, postulavit Estensis Cardinalis, aliique Gallicæ factionis inter alia, ne Pontifex renunciatus Card. Matthæium diceret; promisit Perettus, quæ promissio in Pontificatu eum vexavit maxime." *Vitæ Pontiff. et Cardinalium Alph. Ciaconii operâ descriptæ;* tom 4, col. 167, Romæ, 1677.—"As for the author," writes Foulis, "I shall positively say nothing—the common opinion is, that it was the famous Neapolitan Civilian, Dr. Marta—and indeed his very subscribing himself to the supplication *Novus Homo* doth intimate that he had now in something changed his opinion." *Romish Treasons and Usurpations*, &c., collected by Henry Foulis; (Lond. 1671,) p. 193, where more. Dr. Marta, at one time at least, entertained the highest notions of the Papal prerogative: see Casaubon's *Letter to Fronto Le Duc*, in *Cas. Epist.* p. 387, edit. 1709.

* He died at the age of 48, in 1586: See Ciaconii *Vitæ Pontiff. et. Card.* tom. 3, fol. 930.

† This portion also is confirmed, in a great measure, by Tempesta in his *Storia della vita e gesta di Sisto Quinto;* (Roma 1754) tom 2, p. 288, 9, though there the Ambassador Olivares is mentioned as the chief mover in these transactions. In Leti's *Life of Sixtus* the Ambassador is styled Duke of Sessa.

the Cardinals, (such as were created by his predecessors) and the other Prelates and Clergy to whom it belonged, to appear in the said Council to be holden in Spain, at the City of Seville in Andalusia.

And though this business could not proceed to full effect, for that Sixtus upon this intimation made to him, knowing he should be condemned by his own hand, of mere fear and desperation fell sick and died, (having only that way left to prevent deprivation;) yet by this beginning his simoniacal covenant and election thereupon ensuing, was called into question; or, as the Lawyers say, drawn into judgment and made notorious. Neither did the King of Spain more than right; for by Divine law all Catholics may rise against an Heretical Pope; and that law of God is recited in the body of the Canon Law. And in the case of Simoniacal election, that secular Princes have power to call a Council is the plain text of *Isidore*, that ancient Father, which is related in the Canon Law.*

To proceed therefore: *Sixtus*, by virtue of the said constitution of Julius, which is inscribed in the body of the Canon Law, being a *Magician*, an *Ethnic*, and an Arch-heretic, could not, therefore, nor had he the power in him, to create Cardinals; forasmuch as he was *ipso facto* despoiled and deprived of all jurisdiction, power, and faculty, spiritual and temporal; and all use and exercise of such jurisdiction spiritual and temporal is by the law so far forbidden him, that all acts by him done in that kind are absolute nullities, as done by one who has no power at all to do them.

Now from this ground thus laid, it follows by infallible inference, that all the Popes since Sixtus V. were intruders, and not one of them a true Pope. For after his death Cardinal *Montalto* his Nephew entering the conclave with forty voices in his faction, by the strength thereof was elected *Urban* the VIIth.; who, living but a few days, by the same means *Gregory* the XIVth. was chosen into his place, who continued but ten months; after whom, by the same voices, entered *Innocent* the IXth., who held the Papacy but two months: at last was chosen *Clement* the

* Decreti pars. 2, causa 23 quæst. 5, §. 32, si audieris. Isidorus *de summo bono* lib. 3, cap. 53, relatus in Causa 23, quæst. 3, §. 20, principes sæculi.

VIIIth., by the same voices; who, by the permission of God, continued this intrusion and usurpation for thirteen years. Now that none of these were, nor could be, true Popes, is thus demonstrated:—

Unto the election of all these concurred the voices of those Cardinals created by *Sixtus* V., whereupon it follows, inevitably, that all those elections are plain nullities; since by the constitution of Pius IV., regarding the reformation of the conclave in the election of Popes, the power of choosing the Pope is granted only to the College of Cardinals; which is to be understood of true and lawful Cardinals: but the Cardinals who made all those elections were no true Cardinals, being made by *Sixtus* V., who was no true Pope, and therefore had neither place nor power to make them; therefore the aforesaid *elections* of Popes from *Sixtus* being made by no true Cardinals, were no elections, but absolute nullities in the law to all intents and purposes.

Now that such titular Cardinals, as were created by him who is no true Pope, are no true Cardinals, and consequently can give no voice, nor make any lawful or good election, is evident by continual proceedings of former times in the Roman Church. Such was the case of *Benedict* XIII., who sitting at Avignon created divers Cardinals; but forasmuch as he was deemed no true Pope, but an Anti-pope and a usurper, therefore all by him created were no Cardinals; and were held and reputed as none such to their dying day. And when after the death of Alexander V., he who was called John XXIII., in the time of that long and miserable Schism, intruded himself unlawfully into the Papacy at Bologna, where he then was Legate, and so being Pope and creating divers Cardinals, they were all reputed and judged to be no true Cardinals in the Council of Constance; and a new and true Pope was then chosen, named Martin the fifth, not by the said Cardinals (because they had no power) but by the whole Council. From all which, and more of this kind that might be produced, it follows evidently, that the Cardinals so called, created by *Sixtus* V. being no true Pope, are no true Cardinals, and consequently cannot make elections of a Pope; and therefore all by them chosen were no Popes but mere intruders and usurpers.

## CHAPTER X.

### *A further cause of Nullity discovered in the election of* Pope Clement the VIIIth.

BESIDES the former cause of no true Cardinals concurring to the election of Clement the VIIIth., it is found to be void in another respect; for two parts of the Cardinals concurred with one consent on another, namely Cardinal *San Severine* (as the aforesaid nameless Roman Catholic author relates.) For they called him by name; they took him and led him into the Chapel of St. Paul, where they performed their ceremony of adoration to the new elected Pope; that in this place they made him sit in the Pope's chair of State, and by public scrutiny proclaimed him Pope: and that this makes a full and legal election of a Pope, the text of the law expressly teaches in these words,—*He who shall be elected and received by two parts of the Cardinals with uniform consent, let him be held and received of the whole and universal Church as true Pope without all question or contradiction.** Now from what is above related by our author, it appears that the Cardinal *San Severine* was chosen by two parts of the Cardinals with full consent, and was by them conducted, and placed in the Pope's seat;† he was therefore lawfully chosen Pope, and so ought to have been accepted; but see, reader, (and admire the arts of that Court) how this poor man was put off.

When this was done, and while the rest of the Cardinals who were without were expected (for such is the custom, that when

* Decretall. Gregor. IX. lib. 1, tit. 6, §. 6, *Licet de vitanda discordia in electione.*

† The substance of this information we again find corroborated in Ciaconius:—"Cardinales 57 Comitiis inter fuerunt; triginta quinque Cardinalem S. Severinæ, probitate et doctrina illustrem ad sacellum Pauli, die Jan. 11, aperto, ut aiunt, Scrutinio, in Apostolica Rom. sede collocaturi, (ut MSS. gravium virorum comitiis præsentium monumenta, quæ legi, testantur) deduxerunt: at Deus cujus judicia incognita nobis, et incomprehensa, Hippolytum Card. Aldobrandinum supremo regendæ ecclesiæ muneri destinaverat." Ciaconii *Vitæ Pontiff. et Cardd.* tom iv. col. 251, edit. 1677.

two parts have made election, the third part which consented not, but could not hinder, is expected to come to the place where the new elect is adored by the two parts which chose him, and whence the election is to be published; that so all being together, the election may be said to be made by all, without contradiction of any man)—while the rest (I say) were expected to come in, there came into the Chapel Cardinal *Gesualdus* and *Sfortia* (the former whereof was Dean* of the College of Cardinals) and by a crafty and wicked device disturbed the election, in truth and in law already made. *Gesualdus* cries out, My Lords, let us number the voices, to see if two full parts have consented; whereupon he began to count, not hasting to make an end, but leisurely proceeding with intermissions and delays, which he did purposely for a crafty object, that the Cardinal St. *Sfortia* might have time also to act his part, which he failed not to do; for in that mean time he got two of the Cardinals out of the Chapel who had given their voices, and carried them into another place called *Salla Regia;* and leaving them there he returned to the rest, and largely lays open to them the rigour and severity of *San Severino* (for they feared his justice, he being a just and upright man;) and hereupon the greater part of them most perfidiously took themselves out of the Chapel, and assembling together with the rest made a new election of Cardinal *Aldobrandine*, who was called Clement VIII.; and this is the truth of that business.

Now, that the former election of *San Severine* was good and effectual in law, is a clear case; for the voices that chose him were for number complete and sufficient, when they pronounced him *Pope*, and set him in the Chair. And as for the ceremonious solemnity used in the elections, that all the Cardinals sitting in their order together with him who is to be chosen, every one in order shall say, I *such a one choose such a one to be Pope;* and that the Secretary of the conclave shall take the Scrutiny, and write down every one's voice;—it is not an essential part of the election, or necessarily, or essentially required to make an election; for the express words of the text do declare, define, and peremptorily pronounce him to be Pope instantly, as soon as he is

* "In Pontificatu Gregorii XIV. Episcopus Card. Hostiensis et Veliternus, ac sacri coll. Decanus renunciatur." Ciaconii *Vitæ Cardd.* tom iii. col. 936.

chosen, and received by two parts of the Cardinals; and he is then by the law said to be accepted and received by the Cardinals, when they take him and convey him to the Chapel aforesaid, and make him sit down in the Pope's seat: and he is said to be chosen or elected, when the said two parts declare their consent and agreement upon him to be Pope. Now all these concurred in and upon the Cardinal *San Severine;* and when the election is thus made by public and open denunciation, there needs no scrutineers to take the voices, as is clear by the law. And this is one way of choosing the Pope, and is called the way of assumption, of which mention is made in the aforesaid Bull of *Julius* II.; and by this way, which is as sufficient and effectual in law as the other, was Cardinal *San Severine* chosen; and there wanted nothing required by the law to the essence of a true election, but only some formalities, which by the law are not necessary. Nor is it material to say, he wanted enthronization or ordination, or kissing of his foot; for all these are but effects and consequences of a true election, and are appointed to be done to him who is elected, but do not help forward his election; and the election is considered to be properly done and perfected before they are performed; as any man may see in the aforesaid Bull of *Julius* II.

Neither is the calling together of all the Cardinals necessarily required; for it is expressly commanded in no law; and as for the text of the Canon Law, called *licet de vitanda,* it shews the validity of the election, as is soundly proved by Cardinal *Jacobatius,* who shews,* that at least a Council is to be called, to declare whether the election be good or not, and that they may not proceed to the election of another. The election therefore of Clement thus made, is to be held a nullity, as being effected by deceit and fraud, according to the express text of the law laid down in these words—*But if any shall be elected, ordained, or enthronized Pope through sedition, presumption, or any ingeny or trick of wit, contrary to this our sentence and Synodical decree pronounced in open Council; by the authority of God and his Apostles* St. Peter *and* St. Paul, *we pronounce him subject to the great curse, and separated by perpetual Anathema*

* Jacobat. tr. de Concil. part. 3, ar. 4, n. 154,

*from all Society with God's Church, together with all his authors, fautors, and abettors, an Anti-Christ, an intruder and destroyer of Christian Religion*, &c.*

And, after Cardinal Hostiensis,† the great doctor called the Abbot,‡ in his commentaries on the text, expounds the word *ingeny* to be craft, collusion, and deceit, and such like, as in the election of *John* XXII., who was afterwards condemned in the Council of *Basil*. For when, after the death of *Alexander* V., the Cardinals assembled at Bologna, and consulted about the choice of a new Cardinal; *Cossa*, who then was Legate there, a man potent and warlike, obtained of the electors by his greatness, that they would commit the whole power of the election to him; which they had no sooner granted him, than he forthwith elected himself. But, forasmuch as upon examination of the matter in public Council, it was found to be compassed by fraud and deceitful tricks, he was therefore deprived by the Council. Whence it follows, that *Clement* could not be considered a true Pope; both because he was chosen by such as had no power to elect, as also because that choice by them made was wrought by fraud and deceit, and to the injury of another lawfully chosen before: and was therefore void, though it had been carried by such as had been lawfully enabled to make such an election.

* Decreti pars 1, distinct. 23, §. 1, *In Nomine Domini*.

† Abb. in d. *licet de vitanda* n. 11, ver. exposuit Hostiensis. Henry Archbishop of Ambrun, commonly called Hostiensis—"vir in utroque jure peritissimus." He flourished about 1256. Trithem. de *scripp. eccles.* No. 460: Ciaconii *Vitæ Pont. et Card.* tom 2, col. 157. See Allport's Davenant on the Colossians, art. *Hostiensis*.

‡ Nicolaus Tudeschi, *Abbot* of Palermo, seems to be alluded to. He wrote largely upon the topics, to which reference is here made—"Sane vir iste insignis inter Canonistas, cum pleraque difficilibus quasi salebris essent in hac facultate impedita, complanavit, &c.—veritatem liquidiorem ob oculos studiosorum posuit." Possevin. *Apparat. sac.* tom 2, p. 160, edit. Col. Agrip. 1608. "Jureconsultus omnium celeberrimus" is the judgment of Trithemius *de Scripp. Eccles.* no. 781 Fabricius (*Biblioth. mediæ et infimæ Latin*, tom 5) decides the point as to who is the person referred to.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Nullities declared in the Popedom of* Paul V. *and others following.*

THE before mentioned Roman Catholic author discovers another egregious fraud and cheat, used in the election of *Paul V.* who succeeded *Clement VIII.*, wherewith they turned out the Cardinal of Florence who had been lawfully elected, in order to bring in factiously this *Paul*, before called Cardinal *Borghese.* The particulars of that intrigue are to be seen in the first chapter of the said Treatise, N. 15; besides which damnable fraud, and the nullity of the Cardinal's electing, both rendering the election void, our author discovers another foul cause of nullity in the Popedom of Paul V. in regard of his notorious Simony. For which it is to be presupposed, that the *Pope*, as *Pope*, is not free from the crime of Simony, nor exempted from incurring censures in that case; as Aquinas proves at large,* concluding and resolving, that the Pope, as well as any other man, may incur the vice, and come within the compass of the crime of Simony, if he takes money for any spiritual thing. Of the same opinion are all the divines who write upon that place of Aquinas. In consequence of which doctrine, the Council of Basil even for this crime and the sin of Simony, called in question, examined, convicted, and condemned *Eugenius IV.* then Pope, and deprived him of the Papacy. The words of the Council's Decree† are these:—"By this definitive sentence of the great and universal holy Council, which is here recorded in writing, for all the world to know, and all posterity to take notice of; the Council pronounceth, decreeth, and declareth, *Gabriel*, formerly called *P. Eugenius IV.* to have been, and so

* Aquin. 2. 2. q. 100. art. 1. ad. 7. It is worth mentioning in connection with this name, that so great is his authority, that the Fathers of the Council of Trent, on dubious or controverted questions, framed their decrees so as to coincide with his opinions. See P. Zornii *opuscula sacra*, tom. 1. p. 459, and the oration of John Gallio in Le Plat's *Collectio Monument. Conc. Trid. illust.* vol. 1, p. 625.

† Session 34, apud. *Concill. Studio Labbei*, tom. XII. col. 620.

to be a notorious and manifest and contumacious rebel to the warnings and commandments of the Universal Church; and that he still persists in the said open rebellion; and doth therefore condemn him for a wilful contemner and violator of the holy ancient Canons, a perturber of the peace and unity of the Church, a notorious scandalizer of the universal Church, a perjured, incorrigible, and schismatical Simonist, and therefore a forsaker of the faith, an heretic, a dilapidator and consumer of the rights and riches of the Church committed to his trust; and hath thereby made himself an unprofitable member, and not only unworthy and unfit for the Papal power, but of all other title, degree, honour or dignity Ecclesiastical. Whom the aforesaid General Council doth, by the power of the Holy Ghost, declare and pronounce, to be by the law deprived of the Papacy and Bishopric of Rome, and by these presents it doth depose, remove, deprive and throw him out."

Now that Pope *Paul V.* was guilty of Simony, and deserves to be treated as *Eugenius* in the Council of Basil, our author* declares in the aforesaid treatise, Chapter II. from the 2nd number, by the words following:—"In the Datary, which is an office at Rome, wherein all matters of benefices and businesses of that kind are expedited, this is the course and custom at this day. It is duly observed, that the benefices belonging to the Pope's collation, whether reserved to his gift, or falling void in the month that belongs to the Papacy, which in regard of their far distance from Rome, or that they are with cure, cannot be given to his nephew Borghesius, are given to some of the suitors or competitors, who are of that country, or next adjoining to it. For they take order, that none be bestowed presently, but lie vacant for a time; that so a whole concourse of competitors may flock together for it; which is not done for any good end, that so they might know the difference of the suitors, and give it to the worthiest, as by the

* The author of *The New Man; or, a Supplication from an unknown Person, a Roman Catholic, unto* James *the Monarch of Britain,* &c., translated into English by W. Crashaw, B.D. (London, 1622.) p. 26, from which the greater part of this and preceding pages are transcribed, together with the authorities. Several of the latter, which were either incorrect or unintelligible, have been corrected and improved, in the present edition of Dr. Sall's work. Paul the Vth. was elected Pope in 1605.

Decree of the Council of Trent they are bound to do; but that they may learn which is the richest, and so may know how to make the best bargain. To this end, the time of this competition is appointed at a certain day, whereof public notice is given, that so all the suitors may come; and that the officers of the Datary may learn in that time which, of all that seek it, are best able to buy out and extinguish the pension that is laid upon that living. For this is the fashion now in use; the Pope chargeth every living in his gift with a pension more or less; ordinarily it amounts to half of the whole value of the benefice; if but a third part, it is held easy and favourable; but sometimes it extends to two parts of the whole divided into three; which done he provides by another ordination, that by present payment of five years' profit, the pension shall be extinguished.

"Now when by this concourse and comparison of competitors, they have found which of them is best able to buy it, on him presently it is conferred; and so not the worthiest, but the wealthiest carries it: and thus are all the Pope's livings bestowed at Rome. Now he that comes thus to a benefice, by paying down five years' pension beforehand, buys it full dear; for he pays for it at the rate of thirty in the 100, over and besides his personal service. For the clearing of this point; suppose a benefice worth 300 crowns a year; this is sure to be charged, being so great a living, with a pension of the largest size, namely, some 200; that so 100 may be left to the incumbent; he then who comes to it in this manner, pays down 1000 crowns for the pension, and 100 more for writing, and seal of his Bulls, and for expedition; and so all laid together, he buys his living of 300, at the rate of 30 for the 100, besides his personal service in the cure of souls.

"Moreover, whereas in the Council of Trent, certain Simoniacal tricks and devices called *regressus* and *expectatives*, are flatly forbidden; the Pope, to elude the Council's Decree, grants coadjutorships, with assurance of *future* succession after his death to whom he is made coadjutor; but makes them pay one year's profit for the expediting and dispatch of their Bulls. Now these coadjutorships are the very same, and tend to the very same end, even to bring in by hook and crook sums of money; for by these pensions, and buying out of pensions, this *Pope* has scraped up twenty hundred thousand Scutes, all which he has bestowed in

buying lands for his nephew. He bought from S*arelly* a goodly large territory called *Rignanum*, near unto Rome, at the price of 353,000 S*cutes*. The city of *Sulmona* in the kingdom of Naples, he bought of the King of Spain, and gave for the same the sum of 150,000 Scutes.

"He purchased those goodly domains, called the four *Casalia*, within the territories of the city of Rome, which cost no less than 700,000 Scutes. In the mountainous countries belonging to the city, which are commonly at six in the hundred, he made a purchase that stood him in 400,000 Scutes.

"He has built a palace and called it after his own name, the palace of *Borghesius;* upon the fabric whereof he has bestowed 300,000 Scutes.

"He has so enriched the Cardinal Borghesius his nephew in private stock and wealth, that his very moveables are esteemed worth 600,000 Scutes.

"Good God! what a mighty wealth is here! And I appeal to any who know the court of Rome, if this could be got together by any means into the Pope's own coffers and private purse, but only out of that office of the benefices called the Datary. Therefore this one demonstration is presumption sufficient enough, to prove his foul and detestable Simony; seeing it is certain that the whole name and blood of the *Borghesius* were but of a mean estate, nay, many of them are known to have run out of their livings, and to be little better than bankrupt, when this man obtained the Popedom."*

Hitherto the words of the aforesaid author, who promised to justify all that he had said to be true out of the authentic books, records, and writings extant in Rome; and that out of the Regis-

* To prove the correctness of this statement, though anonymous, we quote a few lines out of a multitude of testimonies to its truth:—"Pontificio Ærario acervum novies centenum aureorum millium reposuit; Sacris Pontificiis, cum majestate faciendis Tiaram Episcopalem adamantibus, et unionibus ditissimam pretio septuaginta millium aureorum comparavit" [Paulus V.] Ciaconii *Vitæ Pontiff. et Card.* tom. 4. col. 384.

Sixtus V. a predecessor, in the course of but three years managed to scrape together and principally in Coppers (whether after the manner of the big beggarman of the present age we know not exactly) "quinquies circiter milliones (ut vocantur) id est, 5,000,000 coronatus aureos ut videre est apud Cicarell. in *Vita Pontif Sixti V.*" *Bank de tyrannide Papæ*, p. 236.

ter of the Pope's Bulls it should appear, to whom each benefice had been given, and with what pension they were charged. Of all which the *Spanish* nation can give a large testimony; for many of them dealing in businesses of benefices at Rome, have transacted them in this manner.

The conclusion of all beforesaid is, that if Simoniacal contracts do annul the election of a Pope; and the same crime, committed after his election, deprives him of all right to that place and calling; if all Cardinals made by such unlawful and criminal Popes, were no Cardinals; and Popes made by unlawful Cardinals are no Popes, as is established by the Laws and Canons aforementioned;—if all those nullities of Simonies, frauds, and cheats, have intervened in the election of *Sixtus* and following *Popes*, as hitherto recorded, and no care has been taken for repairing those nullities, as is manifest, but rather the same practices are continued to this day (as is well known to those who are acquainted with that Court;) all this being the case, it follows as a forcible consequence, that there is not in the See of Rome, any true Pope, nor has been since Gregory XIII.

How strange will all the preceding narrative appear to many poor Irish, and English Roman Catholics! who are not permitted to know more than their beads, and some small prayer book, with the Litanies of the conception, of St. *Joseph*, *Sancta Theresa*,* &c., and a list of great indulgences for very small devotions. But such as know, by sight or faithful relation, the intrigues of Rome, (whereof my good friend N. N., who gave me the occasion of this discourse, is one) will easily perceive, that all that has been related is very suitable to the language and practice of that Court.

Now, therefore, let the poor souls consider by these particulars, of what metal that Roman holiness is made, which they so blindly adore. And let their bold and presumptuous instructors forbear to censure the Ordinations of the Church of *England*, in which no such dirty practices ever intervened; whilst their prime See is

* *The Flaming Heart, or the Life of the Glorious S. Teresa, Foundresse of the Reformation of the Order of the All Immaculate Virgin Mother, our B. Lady of Mount Carmel, written by herself in Spanish, and now translated into English*, was printed at Antwerp in 1642; and her works in 3 4to. vols. 1669—75. She was born in 1515, and died in 1582.

defaced and disgraced with such public and peremptory exceptions against the usurpers of it; and let them cease boasting, as they do, of a wicked practice, in re-ordaining such as were ordained in the Church of England, if they chance to pass to their communion: whereas it is not less sacrilegious and unlawful to re-ordain persons already lawfully ordained, than to re-baptize such as were lawfully baptized, according to *Gregory* the Great's declaration: *Sicut baptizatus semel, iterum baptizari non debet, ita qui consecratus est semel, in eodem iterum ordine consecrari non debet**—*As those who were baptized before, ought not to be re-baptized; so he that was once consecrated, ought not to be consecrated again in the same Order.* The same was decreed in the Council of *Carthage*, Ch. 38;† and before, in the Council of *Capua*, as related by the said Council of Carthage, and by Baronius in the year 389, §. 74.

To transgress the Decrees of these grave and ancient Councils is the boast of Romanists, when they brag of not admitting Priests ordained in the Church of *England*, to the function of Priesthood with them, if they are not ordained again after their ceremonies. Which point of presumption and contempt of ancient Canons, the Church of England refuses to learn from the Romish; admitting to the practice of their respective Orders amongst us, such as have been ordained in the Romish Church; though we have far greater reasons to suspect their ordinations, as disagreeing with ancient Canons, than they have to suspect ours: as we have hitherto largely demonstrated.

By all this discourse it appears how groundless is the scruple of such as refuse to join with the Church of *England*, for fear that the Ordination of its Clergy is not valid; whereas we have all the certainty (and even more) for the validity of our ordination, that the Roman Church has for hers: and how much *Suarez* was mistaken in affirming, that the Church of *England* has not the Ecclesiastical hierarchy composed of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, necessary to the constitution of a Catholic Church, is, I think, now made sufficiently evident.

* Lib. 2, Epist. 32, end. 10, cap. 58.

† [See the *Synodus Capuana* in Labbé's collection, tom ii. col. 1039; and the *Concil. Carthag.* iii. (anno 397) col. 1172.]

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Of the large extent of Christian Religion professed in the Church of* England.

THE fourth and chief kind of universality proposed by Suarez, as necessary to the constitution of a Catholic Church, is the extent of it over all the parts of the earth. This he denies to the Church of *England*, as not passing (says he) the limits of the British Dominions But if he is speaking of the Faith professed in the Church of *England* (as he ought to do for the present purpose) he was greatly mistaken. Here I will shew, that King James's saying (as Suarez relates) that the one half of the Christian world join with us in the same faith, did not exceed the bounds of truth and modesty; and that of three parts of Christians, two join with us in the profession of the faith of Christ, contained in the Apostles' Creed; though not of all contained in the Creed of *Trent*, whereby the Roman Church alone is singled from us, and from all other Christian Churches; not unlike Ishmael, whose *hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him*, (Gen. xvi. 11, 12) And as the Donatists would confine the Church of God to that corner of Africa which they themselves inhabited; so the Romanists would not have it extended further than their jurisdiction, declaring all who join not with them in obedience to their Pope to be excommunicated and damned. That they may be ashamed, or weary of their blind presumption and cruelty, in offering to mangle and deface, in this manner, the Church of God (if avarice and ambition, the general cause of this proceeding, is capable of shame or amendment) I will give to the people, blinded by them, a view of the multitude of illustrious nations and religious believers in Christ, which they do rashly, if not maliciously, condemn, and degregate from their communion.

And beginning with Protestants inhabiting Europe, from the remotest parts thereof Eastward, in the Kingdom of *Poland*, containing under its dominion Polonia, Lithuania, Podolia, Russia the less, Volhinia, Massovia, Livonia, Prussia; all which, united

in a roundish enclosure, are in circuit about 2,600 miles, and of no less space than Spain and France laid together. In this so large a kingdom, the Protestants in great numbers are diffused through all the quarters thereof, having in every province their public Churches and Congregations,* orderly severed and bounded with Dioceses, whence they send some of their chiefest men of worth unto their general Synods, which they have frequently held with great celebrity; and with such prudence and piety, as may be a happy example to be followed by all Christian Churches; and which it is likely would be followed, upon a due consideration, if the insatiable avarice and boundless ambition of Rome, aspiring desperately to a monarchical power over all, did not obstruct all the methods that sincere piety and zeal for Religion can imagine, for the peace of Christians.

Forasmuch as there are divers sorts of these Polonic Protestants, some embracing the Waldensian or the Bohemian, others the Augustan, and some the Helvetian, Confession, and so do differ in some outward circumstances of discipline and ceremony; yet knowing well, that *a Kingdom divided cannot stand*, and that the one God, whom all of them worship in spirit, is the God of peace and concord, they jointly meet at one general Synod: and their first act always is a religious and solemn profession of their unfeigned consent in the substantial points of Christian faith necessary to salvation. Thus in General Synods at *Sendomir*, *Cracow*, *Petercow*, *Wadislow*, *Thorn*, they declared upon the Bohemian, and Helvetic and Augustan Confessions, severally received amongst them, that they agree in the general heads of faith, touching the Holy Scripture, the Sacred Trinity, the Person of the Son of God—God and Man; the Providence of God, Sin, Free Will, the Law, the Gospel, Justification by Christ, Faith in his Name, Regeneration, the Catholic Church, and the Supreme Head thereof—Christ; the Sacraments, their number and use; the state of souls after death, the Resurrection, and Life Eternal.

They decreed, that whereas in the aforenamed Confessions

* The Count Krasinski's *History of the Reformation in Poland* will afford, we are afraid, rather a mournful Commentary upon these once favourable statistics. Romish persecution has impeded here, as almost every where, the "expansiveness" of Protestantism.

there is some difference in phrases and forms of speech, concerning Christ's presence in his holy supper, which might breed dissension, all disputations touching the manner of Christ's presence should be cut off; seeing that all of them do believe the presence itself; and that the eucharistical elements are not naked and empty signs, but do truly perform, to the faithful receiver, that which they signify and represent. To prevent future occasions of violating this sacred consent, they ordained, that no man should be called to the sacred Ministry, without subscription thereunto; and when any person shall be excluded by excommunication from the Congregation of one Confession, that he shall not be received by them of another. Lastly, Forasmuch as they accord in a substantial verity of Christian doctrine, they profess themselves content to tolerate diversity of ceremonies, according to the diverse practice of their particular Churches; and to remove the least suspicion of rebelling and sedition wherewith their malicious and calumniating adversaries might blemish the Gospel (though they are subject to many grievous pressures, yet) they earnestly exhort one another to follow that worthy and Christian admonition of *Lactantius* [Institut. Div. lib. 5, cap. 20,] *Defendenda Religio est non occidendo, sed moriendo; non sævitiâ, sed patientiâ; non scelere, sed fide; illa enim bonorum, hæc malorum sunt.*

This is the state of the Professors of the Gospel in the Elective Monarchy of Poland; who in the adjoining Countries in the south, *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, are also exceedingly multiplied. In the former, by the favour of *Gabriel Bartorius*, Prince*

* This Prince is better known by the name of *Gabriel Bethlen*. He is highly praised by Lampe *(Hist. Eccles. Reform. in Hungaria et Transylvania;* Trajecti 1728, p. 356,) for his encouragement of learning, &c.; but he was perhaps too much engaged in warlike measures against Ferdinand II., Emperor of Austria, to effect much in a religious way. "Anno 1629 bellorum satur vivere desiit. Erat ille illustri in Transylvania genere natus, et inde a puero Helvetica doctrina ac religione imbutus; unde facile intelligas cur ille Ferdinandum rem Evangelicam undique attenuantem, toties bello lacessiverit." *Ribini memorabilia Aug. Confessionis in Hung.* (Posonii 1787) tom 1, p. 439. A later writer gives a more probable reason, when, speaking of some religious compact between Ferdinand and his Protestant subjects, in which Bethlen was compelled to make the Emperor profess an *intention*, at least, of observing, he adds:—"sed Rege Jesuitarum fraudibus obcæcato, nunquam serius fuit animus exsolvendi promissum. Quamdiu namque vixit (ad annum 1637) fidem Evangelicis datam frangere nunquam dubitavit." *Hist. Eccles. Evang. in Hungaria* (Halberstadt. 1830) p. 32

of that region, who not many years since expelled thence all such as are of the Papal faction, in a manner the whole inhabitants, except some few rotten and putrid limbs of Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Ebionites, Socinians, Anabaptists (who here, as also in Poland, Lithuania, and Prussia have some public assembly) are professed Protestants, and, in Hungary, the greater part, especially when compared with the Papists.

Thence Westward in the Kingdom of Bohemia, consisting of 3,200 Parishes, and its appurtenances, the Marquisates of Lusatia, and Moravia, the Dukedom of Silesia (all which jointly in circuit contains 770 miles) and in Austria itself, and the countries of Goritz, the Tyrol, Celia, the principalities of Suevia, Alsatia, Brisgow, Constance, the most part of the people are Protestants, especially the nobility; and are in regard of their number so potent, that they are formidable to their malignant opponents. And they are near of the same number and strength in the neighbouring countries of the Arch-duke of Gratzden (a branch of the house of Austria) namely in Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola.*

But the condition of the Protestants residing among the Cantons of Helvetia, and their confederates the city of Geneva, the Town of St. Gall, the Grisons, Vallesians, seven communities under the Bishop of Sion, is a great deal more happy and settled; insomuch that they are two third parts, having the public and free practice of Religion: for howsoever of the 13 Cantons, only these five Zuric, Schauffhausen, Glarus, Bâsle, Appenzel, are entirely Protestant; yet these in strength and ampleness of territory much exceed the other seven; and hence Zuric in all public meetings and embassies, has the first place, being chief of the five.

Now coming to Germany, the whole Empire consists of three

* Dr. Sall could hardly have been aware of the miserable state of the Protestant Churches in these districts, existing, as they appear to have done, almost by sufferance; though even at the beginning of the 17th Century, so large were their numbers, when proscribed, stripped of their property and banished, by Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, at the instigation of the Jesuits, *(ab Ignatianâ sodalitate excitatus)* that they resembled an army when removing into other provinces. Indeed the British public generally has no conception, we may say, of the Catholic expansiveness of Protestantism, and the sectarian exclusiveness of Romanism. See *Caroli Memorabilia Eccles. sæculi*, xvii. (Tubingæ, 1697) tom I, p. 3.

orders or states; the Princes Ecclesiastical, the temporal Princes; and the free Cities. Of the Ecclesiastics the Arch-Bishop of Magdeburgh and Bremen, with the Bishoprics thereunto belonging are under the Protestants, as also the Bishoprics of Verden, Halberstad, Osnaburg, and Minden.

The temporal Princes all (none of note excepted) besides the Arch-Duke of Austria, and the Duke of Bavaria, are firmly Protestants. And what the multitudes of subjects are, professing the same faith with these Princes, we may guess by the ampleness of dominions under the government of the chief of them, such as are the Prince Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtenburg, Langrave of Hesse, Marquess of Baden, Prince of Anhalt, Dukes of Brunswic, Holst, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Fryburg. Among whom the Marquess of Brandenburg has for his dominion not only the Marquisate itself, containing in circuit about three hundred and twenty miles, and furnished with fifty Cities, and about sixty other walled Towns; but likewise a part of Prussia, the region of Prognitz, the Dukedom of Crossen, the Seigneuries of Sternberg and Cotbus, and lately the three Dukedoms of Cleve, Dulic* and Berg, of which the two former have either of them in circuit about one hundred and thirty miles. The free Cities, which were in number eighty-eight, before some of them came into the possession of the French, Polanders, and Helvetians, are generally Protestants, especially those called the Hans cities, very rich and powerful, situated in the Northern part of Germany, inclusively, between Dantzic eastward, and Hamburg westward. As for Ratisbon, Stratsburg, Augsburg, Spires, Worms, and Francfort-upon-the-Main, both Papists and Protestants in them make public profession.

Nearer to us are the Provinces of the Low Countries, governed by the States General; namely, Zulphen, Utrecht, Overyssel, Groninghen, Holland, Zeland, West-Friesland, in which only Protestants have the public and free exercise of their Religion. The power and strength of these Provinces is too much known to need a relation of it. I find it stated in Mr. Pagitt† that they

* In Boterop. 301 "Julien."

† Pagitt's *Christianography*, chap. 2, [or *a Description of the sundry sorts of Christians* by E. Pagitt. D.D., folio, London, 1674.]

contain about two hundred and ten Cities, compassed with walls and ditches, and six thousand three hundred Towns and Villages, and more; and that they keep about thirty thousand men in continual garrisons.

Now passing from the United Provinces into France, those of the Religion (as they usually stile them) are possessed of above seventy towns having garrisons of soldiers, governed by Nobles and Gentlemen of the Protestant Religion; they have eight hundred Ministers retaining pensions out of the Public Finance, who are so dispersed through the chief Provinces of the Kingdom, that in the Principality of Orange, in Poictou almost all the inhabitants, in Gascony half; in Languedoc, Normandy, and other Western Provinces, a strong party profess the Protestant Religion. Besides the Castles and Forts, which belong in property to the Duke of Bullen, the Duke of Rohan, Count of Laval, the Duke of Trimovil, Monsieur Chastillion, the Mareschal of Digniers, the Duke of Sully and others.

Now, if to all the forenamed Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedoms, States, Cities, abounding with Professors of the Reformed Religion, we add the Monarchies of Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, wholly in a manner Protestants, we shall find them not inferior in number and power to the Romish Party; especially if we consider, that the main bulk here of Italy and Spain* are, by a kind of violence and necessity, rather than out of any free choice and judgment, detained in their Superstition; namely, by the jealousy, cruelty, and tyrannical vigilancy of the Inquisition; and by their own ignorance; being utterly debarred from all reading of the Holy Scriptures, and of controversial books, whereby they may come to a knowledge of the truth and of their own errors.

If any shall object that the Protestants, in the various countries beforementioned, cannot be reputed as one body and one Church, on account of many differences and contentions among them;

* The Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in both of these Countries has been well described in Dr. M'Crie's two volumes published in 1829 and 1833; fully deserving the attention of the friends of "Civil and Religious Liberty." So "expansive" *was* the power of Protestantism in *Spain* in the sixteenth Century, that the Inquisitor, Lewis Paramo, was led to declare that the whole Kingdom would have been pervaded by it, had it not been forcibly repressed and finally burnt out: See Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, p. 305.

let him consider that however many private persons living among Protestants, rather than belonging to them, have strained their weak understandings to coin several erroneous tenets, and by them have bred dissensions and animosities; yet these wicked practices are not to be imputed to the whole sacred community of Orthodox Churches, whose harmony and agreement in necessary points of faith are to be seen and esteemed by the public Confessions of their faith, which they have divulged unto the whole world by public authority; and in which they so agree, that there is a most sacred harmony between them in the more substantial points of Christian Religion necessary to Salvation. This is manifest from the Confessions themselves, which are the Anglican, Scotch, French, Helvetian, Belgic, Polish, Strasburg, Augustan, Saxonic, Wirtenbergic, Palatine, and Bohemic or Waldensian. For there is none of the Churches formerly pointed out in different parts of Europe, which does not embrace one of those Confessions; and all of them do harmoniously conspire in the principal articles of faith, and which nearest concern our eternal salvation; as in the Divine Essence and Divinity of the Everlasting God, the sacred Trinity of the three glorious Persons, the blessed Incarnation of Christ, the Omnipotent Providence of God, the absolute Supreme Head of the Church—Christ; the infallible verity and full sufficiency of the Divine Scriptures for our instruction to life Everlasting, &c. In none of those Confessions is to be seen that heap of desperate Heresies which my Antagonist N. N. attributes to the Church which I have followed, and wherewith Bellarmine, and Becan, and other Romish Controvertists swell their volumes, filling the minds of their proselytes with hatred and animosity against the Reformed Churches; whilst in them such impious Heresies are most seriously rebuked, and learnedly refuted by pen and tongue, from Chairs and Pulpits, as I am daily finding, to my great comfort; and no small grief to consider the disingenuousness of Romanists in fomenting animosities among Christians, by thus calumniating the opposers of their errors.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### *Of the several large and flourishing Christian Churches in the Eastern Countries not subject to the* Pope.*

To all men truly zealous for the honour of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, it cannot but be comfortable, to see how happily the blessed Apostles have complied with the command of our Sovereign Lord and Saviour—*Go and teach all nations, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* (Matt. xxviii. 19;) and how gloriously the Churches, planted by them, have persevered in the Faith of our Saviour in spite of the greatest persecutions, and under the greatest enemies of the Christian name, such as the Turk is known to be: and yet under *his* dominions is a numberless number of Christians; of which the Grecians are, for Antiquity, number, and dignity, the chief. They acknowledge obedience to the *Patriarch of Constantinople*, under whose jurisdiction are—in *Asia*, the Christians of Natolia, Circassia, Mingrelia, and Russia; as in *Europe* also the Christians of Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Thrace, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Wallachia, Moldaviá, Podolia, and Moscovia; together with all the Islands of the Ægean Sea, and others about Greece, as far as Corfu; besides a good part of the large Dominion of Poland, and those parts of Dalmatia and Croatia, which are subject to the Turkish dominion: all which Congregations of Christians, subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, exceed in number those of the Romish Communion; as I find recorded by diligent writers,† whereof Pagitt says, that Christians make up the two third parts of the Grand Signior's subjects.

All these Churches deny the Pope's Supremacy; they account

* This portion of Dr. Sall's volume, including this and the next Chapter, will in *the present day* perhaps be considered as defective, and, in some few cases, incorrect. If the reader should therefore desire larger information, as to the Christian Communities here mentioned, he can consult Mr. Conder's *Analytical View*, or other publications mentioned in the Notes.

† Brerewood's *Inquiries*, cap. 15. Pagitt's *Christianography*, cap. 2.

the Pope and his Church schismatical. The Patriarch of Constantinople yearly upon the Sunday called *Dominica invocavit*, solemnly excommunicates the Pope and his Clergy as schismatics. They deny Transubstantiation; touching which point Cyril, the Patriarch of Constantinople, delivers this excellent confession, as agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England, and opposite to the Romish: *In the Eucharist*, says he,* *we do confess a true and real presence of Christ, but such a one, as faith offers us; not such as devised Transubstantiation teacheth: for we believe the faithful to eat Christ's body in the Lord's supper, not sensibly champing it with their teeth, but partaking it with the sense of the soul. For that is not the body of Christ, which offereth itself to our eyes in the Sacrament; but that which faith spiritually apprehendeth and offereth to us. Hence ensueth, that if we believe, we eat and participate; if we believe not, we receive no profit by it.* Jeremy the Patriarch teaches a change of bread into the body of Christ, which he calls μεταξολὴ that is a *transmutation;* which is not sufficient to infer a Transubstantiation, because it may only signify a mystical alteration, which the Patriarch in the same place plainly shews; saying, *that the mysteries are truly the body and blood of Christ, not that these,* μεταξαλλόμενα, says he, *are changed into human flesh, but we into them; for the better things have ever the pre-eminence.* The words of Cyril and Jeremy in Greek, are to be found with Mr. Pagitt, in his Christianography, cap. 4.

They deny a Purgatorial fire: so Nilus, Archbishop of Thessalonica: *We have not received by Tradition from our teachers, that there is any fire of Purgatory, nor any temporal punishment by fire, neither do we know of any such doctrine, taught in the Eastern Church.*† Alphonsus de Castro: *It is one of the most palpable errors of the Grecians and Armenians, that they teach that there is no place of Purgatory, where souls after this life are purged from their corruptions, which they have contracted in their bodies, before they deserve to be received into the eternal tabernacles.*‡

They administer the Eucharist in both kinds, of which Cyril the Patriarch thus speaks: *As the Institutor speaketh of his*

* Cap. 17, pag. 60.

† Nilus, p. 219, *de purg. igne.*

‡ Castro *advers hæres.* lib. 12, p. 188.

*body, so also of his blood; which commandment ought not to be rent asunder, or mangled according to human arbitrement, but the institution delivered to be kept entire.**

They allow married Priests. Hier. Patr. says, *We do permit those Priests who cannot contain, the use of marriage.*†

They deny the worship of images. Concerning which point, Cyril speaks:—*We forbid not the historical use of pictures, (painting being a famous and commendable art) we grant, to those who will have them, pictures of Christ and saints; but their adoration and worship we detest, as forbidden by the Holy Ghost in holy Scripture; lest we should, before we are aware, adore colours instead of our Creator and Maker.*‡

They acknowledge the sufficiency of Scripture for an entire rule of faith and of our salvation, of which Damascene gives this testimony:—*Whatsoever is delivered unto us, and was in the Law and in the Prophets, by the Apostles and Evangelists, that we receive, acknowledge, and reverence; and beside these we require nothing else.*§

They do not forbid the Laity the reading of the Scriptures. *As the reading of Scripture is forbidden to no Christian man,* (says Cyril the Patriarch) *so no man is to be kept from the reading of it; for the word is near in their mouth and in their hearts. Therefore manifest injury is offered to any Christian man of what rank or condition soever he be who is deprived or kept from reading or hearing the holy Scripture.*‖

* Cyr. c. 17, p. 61, [And also in Covel's *Account of the Greek Church* (Cambr. 1722) where it is remarked—"Now, his saying, *the bread and wine are changed into the very body and blood of Christ*, without doubt pleased the Latins well; but as he explains himself, it is far enough from Transubstantiation. *They are changed*, saith he, *ὑπερφυῶς, ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν, supernaturally*; as to the *mode*, or manner, *it is beyond what we can say or think*: and again *μυρίων στωμάτων χρέια, thousands and thousands of mouths or tongues are not able to express it.* The bread is changed into Christ's body, *no man knows how*; saith Jeremias; yes, say the Latins, *we will tell you how*, the substance of the bread is quite lost, and only the accidents remain. The good Patriarch either knew nothing of this Theology; or, if he did, he would not own it," p. 123: see also p. 118.—Jeremy was Patriarch of Jerusalem in the 16th Century.]

† Resp. p. 129; [Decreti pars 1 ] Distinct. 31, §. 14, *aliter.*

‡ Cyr. *resp. ad inter.* 4, p. 97.

§ Damas. *de orthodoxa fide*, lib 1, c. 1.

‖ [*In respons. ad inter.* 1. Both Cyril's confession and these replies to certain queries, may be found with a French translation in Aymon's *Monumens Authentiques*, pp. 237—54.]

They allow no private Masses; as Chytræus relates:—*No private Masses,* says he, *are celebrated among the Greeks, without other communicants, as the Liturgies and faithful relations testify.*

They have prayer in a known tongue. They use not prayer for souls to be delivered out of Purgatory, nor the Extreme Unction; nor elevating or carrying about the Sacrament, that it may be adored; nor indulgences, nor sale of Masses. Neither is there in their Canon, any mention made of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ for the living and dead, as Chytræus, Guagninus, and others quoted by Pagitt relate.* Other differences of less account between the Grecian Church and the Roman, you may see related by Brerewood and Possevin.†

Of the same Religion with the Grecians, are the Christians of the vast and mighty empire of Muscovy and Russia, under their Metropolitan the Archbishop of Moscow, nominated and appointed by the Prince, the Emperor of Russia; and upon this nomination consecrated by two or three of his own Suffragans.

To these may be added the Christians called Nestorians (for having maintained anciently the error of Nestorius) spread over a great part of Asia. For besides the countries of Babylon, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Parthia, and Media, where many of them are found; they are scattered far and wide in the East, both northerly to Cathaia, and southerly to India. So that beyond the river Tigris eastward, there is no other sect of Christians to be found; (as learned Brerewood relates) except only the Portuguese and the converts made by them in India. The Patriarch of the Nestorians to whom all those of the Eastern parts acknowledge obedience, has his seat in the city of Moosul, on the river Tigris in Mesopotamia, or in the Patriarchal Monastery of St. Ermes fast by Moosul. In which city, though subject to Mahometans, it is recorded, that the Nestorians retain yet fifteen temples, being reckoned at about 40,000 souls. Sanders mentions the great number of Suffragan Bishops and Metropolitans subject to the Patriarch of Moosul.‡

Next to these, we may name the Christians of Egypt, called Cophti, under the Patriarch of Alexandria; to whose jurisdiction

* Pagitt, cap. 4.

† Brerewood, c. 15, Possev. *de reb. Muscov.* p. 38.

‡ Tho. à Jesu, lib. 7, p. 3.

belong not only the native Christians of Egypt, but also those about the Bay of Arabia, and in the Mount Sinai eastward; and in Africa, as far as the greater Syrtis westward. To him likewise are subject the Christians called Abyssinians spread over the wide empire of Ethiopia, with their Prince commonly called Prester John. For though they have a Patriarch of their own, whom they call in their idiom Abuna (our Father) yet are they limited to choose one of the jurisdiction of Alexandria, and a Monk of St. Anthony he must be.* Besides the Confirmation and Consecration of him belongs to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and by him is he sent with Ecclesiastical charge into Abyssinia. The conferring of Bishoprics and other Ecclesiastical benefices, except the Patriarchship, belongs only to the King. Their Priests and other inferior Ecclesiastical Ministers, (as also Monks,) live by their labour, as having no tithes nor any Ecclesiastical revenues to maintain them, nor being suffered to crave alms. All which is recorded by *Zaza Zabo*, an Ethiopian Bishop.

The Christians of *Egypt* are so constant in the Profession of Christianity, that if any of them are by force circumcised by the Turks, he is marked in the forehead or hands with the sign of the cross, that all men may know him to be a Christian.

The Patriarch of Alexandria's dwelling, is now near the Church of St. Nicholas in Cairo, which city is one of the greatest cities in the world, reputed to be twenty-eight miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, (as Lithgow reports,†) and that of Greeks, Copates, Armenians, and others, there are about 200,000 Christians in that city of Cairo.

Thomas a Jesu relates ‡ a foul mistake in Baronius; who in the end of his fifth tome,§ tells that in the time of Pope Clement

* Zaga Zabo *de Relig. et Mor. Æthiop. apud Damian. Goes* [*Fides, Religio, Moresque, Œthiopum sub Imp. Preciosi Johannis*;—Damiano a Goes *autore* (Paris, 1541) pp. 87—89.

In the *Church History of Ethiopia, composed* by M. Geddes: Lond. 1696, will be found an examination into the truth of the Romish accounts of the Missions of that Church in the same Country; and we need hardly say that the issue of the enquiry proves the Missionaries to be no particular dealers in truth.

* Lithgow's *Travels*, p. 306.

† Tho. à Jesu *de convers. Gent.* lib. 7, par. 1, c. 6, p. 363.

§ Anno 452, § 23. This embassage took place in 1594, and Baronius seems to have introduced the fact, so much out of its chronological order, with a view to rejoice his soul that, at a time when so many were deserting his Church,

the VIIIth, an embassage was brought from the Church of Alexandria, to the Roman Bishop; in which the Patriarch and all the Provinces of Egypt, and others adjoining, acknowledged him as chief and universal Pastor of the Church; but the matter being more diligently examined into, appeared to be a mere lie and fiction of a certain Impostor *Bartavis*.

How great has been the spread of Christianity in *Ethiopia* may appear by the vast extent of that empire, which, according to Mr. Brerewood's computation, is equal to Germany, France, Spain, and Italy. Others report it to be as great as all Europe. *Horatius Malegueius** makes the dominion of the Ethiopian Emperor larger than any other; excepting the dominion of the Catholic King.

Godignus reports, that there are in Ethiopia 127 Arch-

others were joining it, even from afar; or, to use his own language, in a supplementary chapter at the end of the volume, "ita ut magno miraculo, rerum versâ vice, Æthiopes dealbentur, dum super carbones facies Borealium denigrantur." *De legat, eccles. Alexand.* § 5. Then he gives several acts and instruments—but "the Court of Rome was over-reached in that point, and Baronius too easily published these acts." Father Simon's *Religions and Customs of Eastern nations*, p. 120. In fact, the Church of Rome seems to have been often mistaken in these conversions. "The Jesuit *Roderigo*, who was sent to that nation (the Copts) by the Pope in 1562, upon submissive and respectful letters which they had written to his Holiness, as if they owned the Church of Rome for chief and mistress of all others, will furnish us with a pretty instance of their *Counterfeit reconciliations*, which, most frequently, have no better foundation than mere human interest. This Jesuit having had some conference with two Cophtics, whom the Patriarch *Gabriel* had deputed for that purpose, easily persuaded them of the Pope's authority: but when the Jesuit afterwards pressed the same Patriarch to send letters of submission and obedience to the Pope, telling him he ought not to scruple at that, seeing that in his former letters. he had called the Pope Father of Fathers—Pastor of Pastors, and Head of all Churches; he made answer—that as to what he had written to the Pope, it ought not to be taken too strictly, what *was only meant for civility and modesty*; and that he spoke of submission and obedience, yet that was no more than friends commonly do to one another. In fine, he added, that if there was any thing in those letters, which he wrote to the Pope, which was not agreeable to the doctrine of his Church, it ought not to be imputed to him, but to the carrier of the letters, who *without doubt had corrupted them.* In this manner did the Patriarch of the Copts entertain the Pope's Envoys, after that he had received from the Consul the *money* that was sent to him from Rome." This history is more largely related by the *Jesuit Sacchini. (Hist. Societ.* lib. 6, § 124.) Father Simon (ut supra) p. 112.

* Apud Pagitt, p. 38.

Bishops.* Alvares, a Portuguese Priest, relates,† that in Micham Talacem, which is the Church of the Holy Trinity, he saw 200 mitred Priests together; and sixty-four canopies carried over them. Their Churches were built round, and very rich with hangings of cloth of gold, velvet, and plate. They have many goodly Monasteries: to the Monasteries of the vision of Jesus belong about 3,000 Monks.

Many were the attacks of Rome upon this flourishing Christianity of *Ethiopia*, in order to bring it under the dominion of the Pope. The more remarkable which I find recorded is that of Andreas Oviedo,‡ who was sent thither with the title of Patriarch, in the year 1557; who coming with his Letters to the Emperor Claudius, received this answer from him:—*That he would never yield obedience to the Bishop of Rome: (he gave him leave to teach the Portuguese, but forbad him to speak one word to his Abyssinians concerning Religion) and that he would not suffer the Roman yoke to be laid on him or his.* This Emperor Claudius dying, Adamas succeeded, who banished the said Patriarch *Andreas;* and this was the issue of the Embassy, as Godignus relates.

Under the Patriarch of Jerusalem § are the Christians, inhabiting Palestine, mingled with Turks and others. The Patriarch keeps his residence in Jerusalem, where are now remaining ten Churches of Christians. The Patriarchal Church is the Church of St. Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and his house is near to it. To this Patriarch belonged the three Palestines. Tyrius adds || two Provinces more, Rubensis and Beritensis. He relates also that five Metropolitans belonged to this See, and about 101 Bishops. The Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians, and other Christians have several Churches in Jerusalem.

* Godig. *de Abass. reb.* lib. 1, c. 32, p. 195. [Or *De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ Patriarchis, J. N. Baretto et And. Oviedo;* N. Godigno Auct. (Lugd. 1615) lib. 1, c. 32, which commences thus—"Tradiderunt aliqui centum viginti septem in Abassia esse Archiepiscopos," &c.; and the writer then proceeds to shew its inaccuracy and improbability. But we need not spend more time over such an unimportant subject, but refer to the *Introduction* to Mr. Gobat's *Journal.*]

† Alvares, c. 14.

‡ Godig. p. 365.

§ Chytræi *de statu Ecclesiæ* [*in Græcia, Asia, Boëmia,* &c. Francof. 1583] p. 24.

|| Lib. 14, cap. 2.

Under the Patriarch of Antioch, are the Christians called Syrians, from the place of their chief habitation; and Melchites, which, according to the Syrian Etymology, is equivalent to Royalists; because their Bishops have followed always in faith, and in their Councils, the example and authority of the Emperors of Constantinople. They inhabit, mingled with Mahometans, part of Syria, Beritus, Tripolis, Aleppo, and other places in Asia.

Botero states * that they are the most numerous sort of Christians in the East. They live under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Damascus, by the title of Patriarch of Antioch. For Antioch itself, (where the name of *Christian* was first heard in the world,) lying at present waste, or broken into small villages, the Patriarchal seat was translated thence to Damascus, where are reported to be above a thousand houses of Christians.

For although the Patriarch of the Maronites and of the Jacobites, (whereof the former keeps residence in Libanus, and the latter in Mesopotamia,) entitle themselves Patriarchs of Antioch, and by the Christians of their own sects are so acknowledged; yet do the Melchites, who retain the ancient Religion of Syria, acknowledge none for Patriarch, but the Archbishop of Damascus; reputing both the other for Schismatics, as having departed from the obedience and communion of the true Patriarch.

And yet beside all these, a fourth there is, of the Pope's designation, who usurps the title of Patriarch of Antioch. For ever since the Latins surprised Constantinople, (which was about the year 1200) and held the possession of the Eastern Empire about seventy years—all which time the Patriarchs of Constantinople were consecrated by the Pope; as also since the Holy Land and the Provinces about it were in the hands of the Christian Princes of the West, which began to be about the year 1100, and so continued about eighty years; during which season the Patriarchs of Antiochiâ also and of Jerusalem were of the Pope's Congregation;—ever since then, I say, the Church of Rome has and does still create successively, imaginary or titular Patriarchs

* Boter. *relat. univers.* par. 3, lib. 2. [*Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths throughout the World—translated out of the best Italian impression of Boterus;* 4to. Lond. 1630. This work of Botero was of some consequence in its day, this being the third English Edition.]

(without jurisdiction) of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: so loath is the Pope to lose the remembrance of any superiority or title which he has once compassed.

The Georgians inhabit the country anciently named Iberia, betwixt the Euxine and the Caspian seas. The common opinion is that they obtained the name of Georgians from their devotion to St. George, whom they honour as their Patron, and whose image they bear in their military ensigns. Yet this seems to be but a vulgar error; whereas mention was made of the nation of the Georgians in those parts both by Mela and Pliny before ever St. George was born.* Their Religion both in ceremony and substance resembles that of the Grecians, who yet were never subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople; but all their Bishops, being eighteen, profess obedience to their own Metropolitan, without any higher dependence or relation; who yet keeps residence far off in the Monastery of St. Catherine on the hill of Sinai.

These Christians live separately, by themselves, without mixture of Mahometans or Pagans, under their own King. They are a very warlike people, valiant in battle, of great strength and might, with an innumerable multitude of soldiers, very terrible to the Saracens; as it is reported by Vitriacus the Cardinal.

Neighbouring with the Georgians are the Mingrelians and Circassians, anciently called *Colchi* and *Zychi*, both of the Greek Religion, and subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as converted by his Ministers, Cyril and Methodius,† to the Christian Religion. The Mingrelians inhabit Colchis, which lies near the Euxine sea. The Circassian country extends itself on the Mæotis 500 miles, and within land 200 miles.‡ These countries bring forth the bravest warriors reputed in the East.

* Mela lib. 1, c. 2. Plin. lib. 6, c. 13. Prateo, *de hæres. Sect. Verb. Georgiani.*

† Belon. *Observ.* lib. 1, c 35.

‡ Mr. Herbert, p. 68.

It may be proper here to subjoin the remark that we do not suppose Dr. Sall intended to make mere *numbers* an argument for the truth of any doctrine; or, because "a majority of the Christian world" (as it is sometimes phrased) is either induced or compelled to support a system of religious opinions, that they must *therefore* be admitted to be true. Dr. Sall simply intended to shew, it is presumed, that even with regard to numbers, he "too could something do."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Of the Jacobites, Armenians, Maronites, and Indians.*

THE *Jacobites* derived this name (as Damascen and Nicephorus relate) from one Jacobus, sirnamed *Zanzalus* of Syria, who living about the year 530, was in his time a mighty promoter of Eutyches' sect, respecting the unity of natures in our Saviour; and his followers are at this day in great numbers known under the name of Jacobites, in Syria, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Palestine; in which regions they are estimated to make about 160,000 families; and are besides so far extended, that they are recorded to be spread abroad in some forty kingdoms.*

They have a Patriarch of their own, whose Patriarchal Church is in the Monastery of Saphran, near the City of Mordin, in the North part of Mesopotamia. These Jacobites condemn Eutyches and his error,† who confounded the two natures of Christ; and they confess two natures to be united in Christ, and one personated nature to be made of the two natures not personated, without mixture or confusion.

The *Armenians* for traffic (to which they are exceedingly addicted) are to be found in multitudes in most cities of great trade, especially in those in the Turkish empire, having more favour among the Turks than any other sect of Christians, by a patent granted to that nation under Mahomet's own hand; as some report.‡ So that no nation is more spread abroad in merchandizing than the Armenians, except the Jews; yet the native regions, where they are found in greater multitude, and their Religion is most supported, are Armenia the Greater, named (since the Turks' first possession of it) Turcomania beyond Euphrates, and Cilicia, now called Caramania.

The Armenians were anciently under the jurisdiction of the

* Boter. *relat.* p. 3, lib. 2, c. *de Giacobitis.* Breitenbach *peregrin. c. de Jacobitis.*
† Tho. à Jesu *de convers.* lib. 7, p. 1, c. 14.
‡ Postel. lib. 22, *de linguis* tit. *de lingua Armenica.*

Patriarch of Constantinople; but since the time of Photius, they have departed both from the government of that Patriarch, and from the communion of the Grecians; and ever since they acknowledge obedience, without further or higher dependence, to two Patriarchs of their own, whom they term *Catholicos;* namely, the one of the greater Armenia, under whose jurisdiction are reputed to be above 150,000 families, besides very many Monasteries. He keeps his residence* at present near the city of Erivan in Persia, being translated, at their first reduction to the Pope's obedience, thither, by occasion of the late wars between the Persians and the Turks; his ancient seat having been Sebastia, the Metropolis of Armenia the greater. The other Patriarch of Armenia the Less, the families of whose jurisdiction are reckoned to be about 20,000, anciently kept at Melitene, the Metropolis of that Province, but now is resident in the city of Cis, not far from Tarsus in Cilicia; the middle limit of the jurisdictions of these two Patriarchs being the river Euphrates.

The *Maronites** were so named, not from an heretic called Maron, as some have erroneously written, but from a holy man of that name; since in the book of Councils we find mention of the Monasteries of St. Maron. Their main habitation is in the mountain Libanus; which, though it contain in circuit about 700 miles, and is possessed in a manner only by the Maronites, yet of all sects of Christians they are the least, as being accounted not to exceed 12,000 houses. Their Patriarch, who is usually a Monk of St. Antony, and has under his jurisdiction eight or nine Bishops, keeps his residence, for the most part, in Lebanon, in a Monastery of St. Antony. He professed obedience of late, together with all the Maronites, to the Bishop of Rome;† being the only nation of the East, except the Indians, lately brought over to the Romish Communion, who acknowledge that obedience. Gregory XIII. founded a Seminary in Rome for the training up of the youth of that nation in the *Roman* Religion ‡

The *Indian* Christians, commonly called of St. Thomas, because

* Possevin. *Apparat. Sacr.* tom 2, p. 70, edit. Col. Agrip. 1608.

† Boter. *relat. Pa.* 3, lib. 2, c. *de Maronitis.*

‡ But the education given in this school being purely Monastic, the Pupils carry home little besides a knowledge of Italian, which is of no use to them, and a smattering of technical theology. Conder's *Analytical View of Religions*, p. 47.

by his preaching they are supposed to have been converted to the Christian Religion,* inhabit in the nearest part of India, nigh to Cape Comorin, being computed (before the Portuguese frequented those parts) at about 15,000 families. Their Archbishop formerly acknowledged obedience to the Patriarch of Moosul by the name of the Patriarch of Babylon; as by those Christians of India he is still termed. But the Archbishop revolting from his former Patriarch, submitted himself of late, by the persuasion of the Portuguese, to the Bishop of Rome; retaining, notwithstanding, the ancient Religion of his Country, which was also permitted by the Pope: insomuch that in a Synod held at Goa, for that purpose, he would not suffer any alteration to be made in their ancient rites or Religion, as one who lived in those parts at that time has recorded.† But that Bishop being dead, his Successor in another Synod held by the Archbishop of Goa, at Diamper,‡ not far from Maliapur, was induced to make profession, together with his Suffragans and Priests, both of the Roman obedience and Religion.

* There is very little, or we might perhaps more properly say, no ground for this supposition. "While however we reject this account as applied to the *South of India*, we admit that there would be much less improbability in the Tradition if supposed to refer to the Northern Provinces bordering on the banks of the Indus.—He (St. Thomas) might, without much difficulty, have visited some of the upper Provinces of Hindoostan.—Origen, who lived in the third Century, says expressly that this Apostle preached in Parthia, Media, Caramania, and Bactriana." Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p 40.

† Linschot. lib. I, cap. 15.

‡ This representation does not appear to be quite correct. The state of affairs is more accurately given in Hough's *Protestant Missions vindicated against the Aspersions of N. Wiseman*, D.D. (Lond. 1837) pp. 71—4, from which we shall make a brief quotation:—"The Synod was convened at Diamper in 1599, about a Century, it is important to remember, after the Portuguese first became acquainted with these Christians. The Decrees were the counterpart of those of the Council of Trent, adapted to the circumstances of the Syrian Church: and instead of anything like a discussion of the Archbishop's pretensions being allowed, he at once assumed them all, had his decrees read, and demanded the instant and unconditional assent of the assembly. The opposition manifested to this imperious and unjust mode of proceeding was instantly put down, *vi et armis*, and the Synod acceded to everything according to his dictation." See also the *History of the Church of Malabar*, by Michael Geddes, Lond. 1694, to which the acts of the Synod at Diamper are subjoined, and in Mr. Hough's second volume of his *History of Christianity in India*, together with very pertinent remarks extracted from Geddes, on several of its edicts and regulations.

Here the reader may note, how ready the Roman Court is to wink at any errors in the Proselytes whom they can purchase, provided they acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy; *that* being secured, all is well; the rest will come in with time, as has happened with these Indians. If not, that wise Court will stop where it cannot go further, and allow what they may not deny. For it is to be considered, that these Indians at their first reduction to the Pope's obedience, with permission to use their own rites and Religion, being Nestorians, held several articles contrary to the Roman faith. First, *That there are two Persons in our Saviour, as well as two Natures; that the blessed Virgin ought not to be termed Mother of God; that Nestorius, condemned in the third and fourth General Council, and Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia,* condemned for Nestorianism in the fifth, were holy men; rejecting for their sake the third General Council held at Ephesus, and all other Councils after it, and especially detesting Cyril of Alexandria.* Thos. à Jesu *de convers. Gent.* lib. 7, c. 2.

*They celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist with leavened Bread.*†

*They communicate in both kinds.*

*They use not Auricular Confession.*

*Nor Confirmation.*

*They celebrate the Communion, instead of with Wine, with the juice of Raisins, softened one night in Water, and so pressed forth.*

*They baptized not their Infants, until they were forty days old.*

*They used not Extreme Unction.*

* See Mosheim, Cent. 5 pt. 2, ch. 5; Conder's *Analytical View of Religions*; pp. 40—65, and some good reflections of Luther upon the Councils, and their proceedings at Ephesus and Chalcedon; quoted in Baxter's *History of Councils defended*, (Lond. 1682) pp. 175—78.

† The Doctrines and Customs of the Church of Malabar before the Synod of Diamper will be more accurately learnt from Mr. Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 2, pp. 13—20.

"*They denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation.* The Syrians maintained the spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, and rejected as an absurdity the figment of the actual presence when first brought to their notice." p. 14.

*Their Priests were married, and after the death of their first Wives, had the liberty of the second, third and oftener Marriage.*

*They had no images of Saints in their Churches, but only the Cross.*

Other particular tenets, peculiar to each one of the aforementioned societies of Christians inhabiting the East, may be seen in Mr. Brerewood and Mr. Pagitt, in their relations of these Churches. In short, we may say, they agree with our Reformed Churches of Europe, as well in asserting the fundamentals of Christian Religion as in reproving the novel errors of the Roman Church, and detesting the arrogancy of it, in pretending to a Supremacy over all other Christian Churches, and condemning all who will not submit to their pretensions herein.

## CHAPTER XV.

*A reflexion upon the contents of the Chapters preceding, and upon the pride and cruelty of Romanists, in condemning and despising all Christian Societies not subject to their jurisdiction.*

CERTAINLY if those bold and blind zealots of the Roman Church, who can speak no peaceable word, nor entertain any charitable thought of any man who is not of their communion, would but reflect upon the contents of the three chapters preceding, and consider how many illustrious nations, and numerous societies of men, serve God sincerely both in the Eastern and Western Churches, many under continual persecution and suffering for their Religion; they would abate their pride in despising all who are not of their way, and moderate their fury in condemning all to hell fire, who will not pay subjection to their Pope.*

When the Emperor Charles V. had reduced the city of Ghent from a revolt, one of his Peers counselled him that he should rase to the ground that great city. The generous Emperor, in order to win that Counsellor to milder thoughts, brought him to an elevated spot, whence he could view the vast extent and rare beauty of that city; which when he had viewed and considered, he could not find in his heart to persist in his former severe

* *St. Alphonso Maria de Liguori*, who has been lately canonized, thus speaks of the Calvinists in France, in his *Storia dell' Eresie colle loro confutazioni*, published at Venice in 1773.

"In the year 1572 another great battle followed on St. Bartholomew's day, in which a slaughter of the Calvinists took place. Historians estimate the total number of Calvinists who perished in this war at 100,000. A fine triumph for Hell just at the time when Calvin had taken up his abode in it." And again; "Let eternal praise then be given to Louis XIV., who first, by means of preachers effected the humiliation of this cursed sect of Calvinists *(questa maledetta secta del Calvinisti)* and then punished them with such severity that many returned to the Catholic faith, and the contumacious departed from the Kingdom, for which Innocent XI. in 1685, wrote him a letter of congratulation and great praise for his zeal" We are indebted for these extracts to the *Bath Protestant*, December, 1839.

judgment, of having it ruined. Inhumanly cruel he must be, who, considering the number and splendor of nations and people mentioned in the preceding Chapters, serving Christ, without dependence upon the Pope of Rome, will have them all consigned to hell.

When Scapula President of Carthage threatened the Christians with cruel usage, Tertullian bade him bethink himself, "What wilt thou do with so many thousands of men and women of every sex, age, and dignity, as will freely offer themselves? What fires, what swords, wilt thou stand in need of! What is Carthage itself likely to suffer, if decimated by thee, when every one shall see there his near kindred and neighbours, and shall see there matrons and men perhaps of thy own rank and order, and the most principal persons of either the kindred or friends of those who are thy own nearest friends? Spare them for your own sake, if not for ours."*

And in his Apology, speaking of the vast spread of that party—"Though (says he) we are men of quite another way, yet have we filled all places among you; your cities, islands, castles, corporations, councils; nay, your armies themselves, your tribes, companies, yea, the Palace, the Senate, and the Courts of Justice."† Certainly these expressions of Tertullian so tender and pressing, could not choose but work upon the mind of *Scapula*, and win him to a milder dealing with the Christians. I would desire N. N. and others of the Roman Church, severe censurers of their Christian brethren, to reflect upon the number and quality of those whom they condemn, and are endeavouring to ruin, by the notices delivered in the three last Chapters preceding; and that they would consider with how much propriety the words of Tertullian may be addressed to them. What power will they require to subdue the rest of Christianity, alien from their communion, so far exceeding themselves in number and forces, as has been above declared? And in case they should subdue them; what fire and sword would suffice to destroy them? And if all should attend their wishes; what heart could endure to see such multitudes of their dear countrymen, friends and nearest relations, perish, whether temporally by their decrees, tending to the ruin of

* *Ad Scapulam*, c. 5, p. 71. † Id. c. 37, p. 30.

all Christians not submitting to their power; or everlastingly, by the cruel verdict of eternal damnation, which they pronounce against all Dissenters?

I know some of them will say, that this severe sentence is not of their making, but delivered by Christ, against all who will not obey his Vicar upon earth, the *Pope* of *Rome*. And possible it is, that some of the simpler sort may believe so. But it is long since I knew and proved, that none sufficiently conversant in the principles of their own Theology, could seriously think it to be so; but that according to their principles it is blasphemy and heresy, to say without restriction, and in general terms (as commonly they do) that none may be saved out of the communion of the Roman Church. And my antagonist I. S. tells us, I did not trespass therein against truth of doctrine, but against policy or prudence, as he calls it, whereby I put a great stop to the conversion of Protestants, if people should be led to suppose that *out* of the Romish communion any may be saved. So that the prudence demanded from me, was to fashion my doctrine to the increase of the Pope's dominion, be it with truth or untruth; and pronounce sentence of damnation against all Christians not subject to them, though I should know no such sentence to be against them in the judgment of God.

I wish my good brethren of the Roman Church would but reflect upon and acknowledge, the great injury which they are doing to themselves, in breeding and fomenting this unchristian hostility, with the whole society of Christians separated from their communion, so numerous and illustrious as we have seen in the preceding Chapters; imprinting hatred towards all, in the hearts of their children; which forcibly must excite a return of hatred, or disaffection and mistrust. How incommodious it is to create to themselves so many enemies! how uneasy and disadvantageous, to bereave themselves of the free and amiable society, of so many noble nations and brave people, whom the apprehension of heresy makes intractable to them!

What happened to me in the case of a Spanish young man, who came in my company out of Spain into England, makes me more sensible of the misery which Romanists bring upon themselves in this way. He was, of his own disposition, cheerful and sociable; but as soon as he came among the English people, his

heart and countenance fell down, and he appeared sad and melancholic. I enquired of him the cause of that alteration; he answered, that he looked upon all these men as Heretics, which made their very sight odious to him, and their company displeasing. The man did not well know what Heresy was; and much less did he know, whether those whom he saw were Heretics, or not. He acknowledged them to be good men, just and civil in their dealings, and adorned with noble gifts of God; yet the prejudice with which he was inflamed against them, by conceiving them to be Heretics, made their sight and company odious to him. Would not this man have been more happy in conceiving a better opinion of the people? Would it not have caused him to live with more ease and comfort among them? not to mention now that higher advantage and duty, of maintaining charity towards all men.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### *Inferences from the preceding doctrine of this whole treatise against the several objections of* N. N.

He who has not considered the order which I proposed to observe in this treatise, and sees me going through many Chapters of it, debating with Suarez and other Romish writers, without any mention of N. N. may think that I have neglected or forgotten him and his book. But if he will call to mind my purpose made in the beginning, of cutting down by the root the whole fabric of the said book, he shall find, I am still engaged upon my intended work.

The ground and foundation of all the cries and complaints of *N. N.* against me, is a supposition, that I have left the *Catholic Church* and *Faith*, by withdrawing from the communion of the *Roman Church*, and embracing this of *England*. In the whole course of this Treatise, I have proved, that the Church of *England* is in all propriety Catholic; and the Faith professed in it truly Catholic and Apostolic; and all this by rules and principles taken from the ablest of Romish writers, for prosecuting this enquiry: whereby it remains proved, that all the exclamations of *N. N.* against me, proceeded upon a false supposition, and consequently are vain and groundless.

Hence I infer, *first*, how vain is his query, and more vain his divining answer, about what drew me out of God's house? It appears by what is said hitherto, and will be farther declared in the rest of this book, that in my change I did not leave the house of God, but removed to the best and soundest part of it; that no private spirit or rash fancy moved me; but a sincere acknowledgment of truth, by the ordinary means which God has disposed for our attainment of it.

I infer *secondly*, how groundless and unreasonable his pretension is, that I should have quitted the holy Doctors, *Gregory*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Jerome*, and all the ancient Fathers and Catholic Divines. He does not tell how or wherein I have

deserted that noble company; neither indeed were it easy for him to shew it. I live, and firmly resolve to die, in the same Catholic Church in which they lived and died; and in the profession of the same Catholic and Apostolic faith, which they professed. The same, and no other faith is professed in the Church of England; whose communion I have embraced, as has been sufficiently demonstrated hitherto; and I hope by the merits and grace of our Saviour Jesus, to enjoy the company of those blessed saints in heaven, maugre all the censures of *Rome*.

Neither was I ever closer with those holy Fathers in the *Romish* Church, than I am now in the *English*. It is one of the perverse calumnies of our adversaries, to assert, that there is not due regard paid to them here. I see the contrary. I have observed diligently the ways of the Universities, and method of study with learned men in England and Ireland; and I perceive with them far greater application to the study and reading of holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, than ever I saw amongst Romanists. Whilst the most learned of these are spending their life and forces in speculative notions, only serving school debates; learned Protestants employ their time more happily in the study of the Holy Scriptures, of Fathers, and credible histories.

I infer *thirdly*, how rash and injurious is his censure, in saying, that by embracing the Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of *England*, I have made myself partaker of all the Heresies, and an associate of all the Heretics, that were from the beginning of the world to this day. Of these he makes a great list, beginning with *Lucifer*, whom he will have to be the first Heretic before man's creation; and from him proceeds to Lamech, the Giants, and all those who entered not into the Ark, but perished in the Deluge, who were all Heretics, says he. Then he brings up Cham, with the builders of Babel; Esau; Jannes and Jambres; Corah and Dathan; Nadab and Abihu; all those strange kings who made war against the children of Israel, and all the false Prophets of Baal. Of all these Heretics, he says, I am become an associate, by embracing the Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England.* But is not all this rage without any mixture of reason? Is it not

* N. N.; or, *Doleful Fall*, chap. 16.

a sufficient confutation of the man, and a foul confusion to him, to repeat this raving speech of his? In what part of the XXXIX. Articles, or of the three Creeds which we use in the Church of England, will he find those Heresies which he appropriates to us?

But he will come nearer home, and make a long narrative of errors and vices related of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, and others, who contributed by their writings to the Reformation of the Church. To which I say, *first*, that I have but too much reason not to believe all that they say of their opposers. *Secondly*, that though some of those, who concurred in the Reformation, should have fallen, as men, into some vices or errors; the Reformation itself (which certainly was a work of God) ought not to be undervalued on that account. The sacred College of the Apostles, the first founders of the Christian Church, had in it one as bad as *Judas:* shall the whole College of the Apostles, and the Religion founded by them be disesteemed, because of such an occurrence? Several of those renowned Fathers, Preachers and defenders of the Gospel after the Apostles in the Primitive Church, as *Origen*, *Tertullian*, &c. through human frailty, were guilty of no few errors;* shall we therefore despise the work they did, and the healthful part of their doctrine? If you should tell me of some doctrine imposed upon us as an article of belief, and rule of manners, that was heretical, or opposite to the Law of God, *that* were pertinent to work upon me; but this I am certain you will never be able to do; and no less certain am I, that your Church is guilty of such impositions upon its followers, as I shall demonstrate by several instances in the second part of this treatise. But to tell me of vices and errors of particular persons is both misplaced and imprudent; I knowing so much how matters go on your side. I appeal to your own knowledge by what you have seen and heard of the Court of Rome; and, if you will conceal your knowledge herein, I remit yourself, and the reader, not to Protestant Historians, whom haply you may suspect; but to your own most qualified, as *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, and even *Baronius*. Read in them the acts and lives of several of those your holy

* The XIVth. Chapter of Walch's *Bibliotheca Patristica* will afford a sufficient commentary upon this remark.

Fathers, and infallible oracles of doctrine—the *Popes of Rome;* consider the transactions of John the XIIIth, about the year 966; or, of *Sylvester* the IInd, about the year 999; or, of *John* the XVIIIth, about the year 1003; or, of *Benedict* the IXth, about the year 1033; or, of *Gregory* the VIIth, about the year 1080; or, *Boniface* the VIIIth, about the year 1294; or, of *Alexander* the VIth, and of his outrageous son Cæsar Borgia, about the year 1494;* and you shall find them to be such men, that no Epicu-

* The passages are quoted in Baxter's *Key for Catholics*, (p. 250, edit. 1839;) to which may be added one not so commonly adduced, from Rolwinck de Laer's *Fasciculus temp.* (apud *Rerum German. Scripp.* tom. 2, p. 331, Ratisb. 1726) ann. 994:—"Heu, heu, domine Deus, quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus! Qualia contigisse circa hæc tempora etiam in sancta sede Apostolica, quam usque huc tanto zelo custodisti, legimus scandala! Quales contentiones, et æmulationes, intrusiones, persecutiones! O tempus pessimum," &c. And still more loud complaints were made, even after the Reformation in the 16th Century had set in, by Martin Cromer in 1542, at a Synod held at Petercow in Poland. "Thomas de Plasa edidit Coloniæ 1566 Cromeri sermones tres Synodicos Card. Commendono dedicatos, quorum primum an. 1542 Petricoviæ in Synodo provinciali habuit de tuendâ dignitate sacerdotii." An extract, which is made by Cypriani, is so remarkable, that it should be quoted:—

"Quid mirum, si nunc tam contemptum ac propemodum abominabile vulgo est sacerdotium, quando omnia hæc, quæ priscos illos venerandos et admirabiles faciebant, in nobis desiderantur? Nemo officium suum facit, ac ne norunt quidem plerique. Omnes cultu divino et hominum nobis commendatorum salute neglecta, bonis pauperum et patrimonio Christi flagitiose et indigne abutimur, et in vicarios munera nostra rejicimus; atque utinam in iis tamen delectum aliquem probitatis atque doctrinæ haberemus; utinamque ii non alios porro pro se vicarios subjicerent. Et quod pejus est, eo ventum est, ut nos sacerdotes esse, haberi, dicique pudeat. In omne scelerum et flagitiorum genus, pudore omni metuque profligato, projecti sumus: et peccata nostra, quemadmodum Sodoma, prædicamus. Quid mirum si contemnimur, vexamur, exagitamur, diripimur et exshibilamur passim? atque nostris quidem odio, hæreticis verò ludibrio sumus? Recessimus de via, et plurimos offendimus in lege: *Irritum fecistis pactum Levi,* dicit Dominus exercituum per Malachiam; *propter quod et ego dedi vos contemptibiles et humiles omnibus populis.* Mittam in *vos egestatem, et maledicam benedictionibus vestris.* Et per Ozeam, *Gloriam, inquit, vestram in ignominiam commutabo.* Magis certe mirandum est, religionem Christianam non proculcari vulgo, et explodi, cum tantum absint Sacerdotes, primores etiam, ut possint rudes erudire, aut errantes in viam reducere, ut vix noverint nonnulli, quare dicantur Christiani, quamque vim habeat, et in quo posita sit Christiana Religio. Quid porro miramur non poscere eos, qui neque oves, neque pabula norunt, ac neque quid sit pastoris officium? Quid miramur, non docere eos, qui nunquam ipsi didicerunt? An nos, Patres, non libamus fortunæ, cum fructus et emolumenta sacerdotii, non sacedotium ipsum, consectamur? Et vivat, sentiat, credatque, ut vult quisque, dummodo commoda nostra nobis salva sint, si non verbis reipsa

rean monster storied out to the world, has outgone them in sensuality, cruelty, tyranny, and all manner of vice. And while I have in my memory, and before mine eyes, unfeigned histories of this kind; do you spare heaping fables against some particular persons who concurred in the Reformation.

But who will not be astonished at the man's disingenuousness in reproaching me and the Church of *England*, with the tenets or madness of the Quakers, which he relates at the end of the sixteenth Chapter of his book; knowing and confessing in the same place, that they are reproved and punished by this Church; and that the author of them, *James Naylor*, was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, after being whipped publicly, and his tongue bored with a burning iron. May not I, with the same reason, reproach him and his Church, with the horrid impieties of the Jews, Moors, and Atheists; as thick set in Spain and Italy, as Quakers among us? But were that fair dealing, when I know that such sects are not approved of, but rather punished in those Countries? Why then, for shame, will *N. N.* tell me, that I am become one of the Society of Quakers, by adhering to the Church of England? he telling at the same time how severely they are punished among us. And if I were of his temper *for entertaining common readers* with stories and rarities of this kind, I could with more ground of truth, and therefore sensibly, return upon him a large sum of practices, which to impartial judgments would appear no better than madness; yet daily used by persons and societies approved and applauded in his Church. But I

certe palam loquimur. Itaque etiam sacerdotiorum nomine antiquato, *beneficia* vulgo appellamus, quasi quæ non, ut aliquo munere fungamur, sed ut bene sit nobis, dentur. Unde impiæ illæ et horrendæ voces natæ sunt, cum patronorum in beneficii loco sacerdotia clientibus data exprobrantium, tum clientum mercedis nomine ea vel jactantium vel efflagitantium. Quo fit, ut omni alia cura exclusa, nocte dieque census, decimas, fructus, et prædia istorum ipsorum beneficiorum, ut vocamus, privatim atque publice, vel in abaco, vel in digitis computemus: Divinas vero scripturas procul a cubiculis, mensis, contuberniis, collegiis, conventibus, et omni vitæ nostræ consuetudine relegavimus. Nec sacra Prophetarum, Apostolorum et Christi ipsius Servatoris nostri verba unquam fere in sermonibus nostris usurpamus, præter, quod non sine magno animi dolore dico, joci gratia, cum maxime videri volumus argutuli atque ridiculi." The speaker afterwards became Bishop of Warmia in Eastern Prussia. See *Tabularium Eccles. Rom., moumenta Conc. Trid. Hist. illustrantta; publicavit E. S. Cyprianus*,) Francof. 1743) pp. 205, 6.

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reserve my time and labour for more serious and becoming work; in the mean time I remit him to *Sir Edwin Sandys's* Book, containing *a Survey of the Western Church;* where he shall see set down, with candour and ingenuousness, becoming a gentleman and a Christian, the rites and customs which he saw practised in several societies of the Roman Church. He does not grudge to praise them, where he finds them praiseworthy, neither does he sour his pen in relating their faults. If you will be ingenuous, you will confess, that he says nothing but what you yourself know to be in practice; and if long custom, and passion acquired by it, has not blinded your judgment, you shall perceive many of those practices to be as unreasonable and mad as any of those which you relate of the Quakers. And if you will have a more exact and vigorous discussion of this point, go to Dr. Stillingfleet's book,* where he speaks of the Fanaticism practised in the Church of *Rome;* and you shall find in it confusion enough, and reason to refrain from objecting to us the follies of the Quakers.

And whereas you pretend to frighten me by representing to me errors of particular members of the Protestant Chnrch; if I would resolve to make a return to you of *that* kind, I could make my book swell and the reader's heart tremble, by relating the Heresies, Blasphemies, and execrable doctrines, which I have heard preached and seen printed by persons of your Church. I will only relate to you for example, some few propositions of books that came to my own hands; the one was of a grave preacher who was pre-

* *A discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome—with a particular account of the Fanaticisms and Divisions of that Church*, Lond. 1671, chap. 4. Sworn members of the Church of Rome seldom venture upon any defence of the strange narratives contained in this volume. They endeavour to affix similar aberrations upon the Church of England, and, as in the present day, are in the habit of referring, most absurdly, to *Johanna Southcote;* who could have made a good female, as Mr. John Nichols *Thom*, would, a good male, saint of the modern Church of Rome. We should like to be informed of the *difference* between Mr. Thom's method, in acquiring proselytes, keeping them, and treatment of them; and the proceedings of many a Romish Priest both of modern and former days.

To Dr. Stillingfleet's book may be added, Brevint's *Saul and Samuel at Endor; or new waies of salvation and service, which tempt men to Rome;* Oxford, 1674—the various Chapters of which will fully justify Sall's statements, unless the reader is tired or grieved (as well he may) with a perusal of the befoolings and delusions practised upon an unsuspecting and hood-winked population.

paring for the press a large volume of Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. Mark. This book was sent by the Provincial of his Order to be examined by me; and having read it with attention, I voted against the printing of it, for several faults which I specified in my censure; but especially for containing some desperately blasphemous propositions, as this following, relating to St. John the Evangelist: *Joannis excellentia titulo dilecti maxima est; major est quam Redemptoris etiam in Deo. Tanta est, quanta esse Deum trinum et unum; imo propter hoc verbum caro factum est.*

For the understanding of which mad piece of Rhetoric, it is to be considered, that there are two sects of Nuns; the one passionately bent upon extolling St. John the Evangelist above St. John the Baptist; the other preferring with no less pertinacity the Baptist before the Evangelist. Our preacher before mentioned, in order to please the Nuns of the Evangelist, delivered that prodigious Paradox, which in English may be rendered thus: *Exceeding great is the excellency of St. John, upon the account of being the beloved. It is greater than that of a Redeemer even in God; it is so great, as to be God in trinity and unity: nay, for this cause the Word was made flesh.* Go now and compare this piece of doctrine with any of those which you relate of the Protestant writers; and if it has not surpassed them all, add to it what follows.

Being advertised by the Inquisitor General of Spain, at the second time he sent me a License for reading prohibited books, that I had not given him account of what censurable propositions I might have lighted upon in my reading, as he had charged me to do, in the instrument of such a Licence, which he had sent me the year before; I forwarded to him a list of some perverse doctrines which I saw in books approved, and in much use among themselves (for Protestant books I could find none to give account of;) among which were the three propositions following prefixed for titles to so many moral discourses of Leander *de Murcia** in his Commentaries on the book of Esther. The first runs thus—*Adeo efficax est mortis memoria ad reducendos in*

* A Capuccine of the city of Murcia, where he was Professor of Theology. The Commentary was printed at Madrid 1647. Antonio *Biblioth. Hisp. nov* 2. 13.

*meliorem frugem homines, ut non solum ipsi, sed etiam Deus Opt. Max. proposita ante oculos morte in meliora contendat—The recollection of death is so powerful to reduce men unto a better life; that not only they, but even God Almighty himself laying death before his eyes becomes better.* The second was this—*Etiam Dæmon morte ante oculos constituta, contendit in meliora—even the Devil looking upon death, mends himself.* The third proposition was—*Tanta dilectione prosecutus est filius Dei homines, ut pro ipsis quasi insanire videatur—The love of the Son of God to men has been so great, that he seems to be mad for them.*

And if thus the case stands, even in books current and approved among you, what if I should relate the doctrines of others censured and prohibited by your Inquisitions! as you and your party frequently upbraid our Church with erroneous doctrines of private individuals, which we utterly detest, and our learned men vigorously oppose, by word and pen, in pulpits, books, and the schools.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### *The Reformation of the Church of* England *vindicated from the slanderous aspersions of* N. N. *and other Romanists.*

It is very usual with the Zealots of the Romish Church to make Henry the VIIIth sole author of the Reformation of the English Church; loading that Prince with bitter invectives and odious reports, thereby to render the Reformation itself contemptible: to which *N. N.* in the 14th Chapter of his book adds a slanderous relation of the lives and behaviour of some Monks and Friars from Germany, whom he pretends to have been the authors and contrivers of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England. I will not repeat the many idle stories which he tells of them, more fit to divert simple persons of his own credulity, during winter nights at the fire, than to work on serious and intelligent men. I have chosen for a more short and solid way, rather to justify our cause, by positive arguments, than to follow our adversaries in sifting fopperies.

To this purpose I will lay for the foundation of my present discourse, that the whole frame of the Reformation stands upon two points: whereof the *first*, and most resented at Rome, is the denying of the Pope's supremacy, and the withdrawing of the Church of England from subjection to him. The *second* is the Reformation of the Liturgy and doctrine of the said Church from errors and corruptions introduced into it.

As for the *first*, it is clear and evident, that neither Henry the VIIIth., nor Luther, nor Calvin, nor any of those strangers mentioned by N. N. were authors or causers of the freedom of the Church of England from subjection to the Pope of Rome; this *freedom* being by its own right inherent in it from the beginning of its Christianity, however King Henry's valour and resolution broke off effectually the tyrannical usurpations of Rome, which for a long time oppressed the English Church and nation, notwithstanding their continual reluctancy, and complaint against those Romish extortions.

Far were those good Christians who inhabited England before the time of Gregory the Great from giving or owning obedience to the Bishop of Rome; and accordingly, when Austin came hither, about the year 590, and demanded their obedience to the Church of Rome, the Abbot of Bangor returned him answer—*That they were obedient to the Church of God, to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in Charity, to help them in word and deed, to be the children of God; and other obedience than this they did not acknowledge due to him, whom he named to be Pope, nor* [*did they consider him*] *to be Father of Fathers.**

And if Austin pretended to such a subjection from England to Rome, as the Popes of it now would have, certainly he exceeded his commission; for St. Gregory, who sent him, never pretended to that Supremacy to which his successors aspire; as we shall demonstrate in the 15th Chapter of the second part of this treatise: and how far he was from pretending England to be under his jurisdiction, may appear by what is related of him,† that, being told that certain children were *de Britannica Insula*, he did not know whether the Country were Christian or Pagan.

The filial and voluntary respect and obedience, which the holiness and learning of Gregory and some other good Popes gained among the English, gave occasion to others following, of less merit, to pretend to a right to such obedience; which being perceived by the Kings, they prohibited all appeals to Rome, and the coming of Legates from thence, and so much as the receiving of letters without the King's licence,‡ as may appear by Paschal the IInd's. letter to Henry I.§ expostulating with

* Concil. Spelm. p. 108; [and in the *Concilia M. Brit.* a Wilkins, tom 1, p. 26, where it is placed under the year 601.]

† *Joh. Diacon.* l. 1, c. 21, *Vita Greg.*

‡ Rather too much credit is sometimes given, or too much stress placed upon those occasional reluctances to be totally, and at all times, servants of the Bishop of Rome, In many cases, as Rivet most truly remarks, "vix ulterius processerunt plerique, quam ut Pontificum sisterent audaciam in iis quæ spectabant regia jura." (*Apologeticus pro vera pace eccles.* §. 10:) when the encroachments in this quarter had been repelled, the agents of the Bishop of Rome were either suffered, or contrived, to practice, in the usual style, upon the other parts of society, who could offer less or no resistance.

§ Apud *Concill. Gen. Studio* Labbei tom x, col. 710, and the Council at Rheims (together with a long extract from *Ordericus Vitalis*) col. 865.

him about this particular, in these words—*Sedis Apostolicæ nuncii vel literæ, præter jussum regiæ Majestatis, nullam in potestate tua susceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad sedem Apostolicam destinatur*, &c.—This happened in an. 1115, notwithstanding the King stood upon his resolution; so as in the year following 1119, sending his Bishops to a Council held by Calixtus the IInd. at Rheims, at their departing he gave them instructions, not to complain of each other, because himself would right each of them at home; that they should salute the Pope from him,* hear his precepts, but bring no superfluous devices or innovations into his kingdom.

True it is, that several of our godly Kings generally permitted that appeals should be made to Rome, in matters wherein our own Bishops could not agree, and directions to be sought from thence, as from a flourishing and learned Church, not as a superior Judicature. And when the Roman Bishops pretended to any such superiority, our Kings protested against it. Thus Henry Vth. demanded of Martin IVth. some particulars, to which his ambassadors not finding the Pope ready to assent, told him that, *they had orders to protest before him, that the King would use his own right in those particulars, as things which he demanded, not out of necessity, but for the honour and respect he was willing to shew to that See; and that they should make a public protestation thereof before the whole College of Cardinals.*† And to this purpose are sundry examples remaining on record;‡ where the King at the Petition of the Commons, for redress of some things amiss belonging to Ecclesiastical cognizance, first chooses to write to the Pope; but on his delay, or failing to give satisfaction, does either himself by statute redress the inconveniency, or command the Archbishop to see it done.

For certain it is, by the course of all our Chronicles and histories, that our Kings, together with the convocation of their Bishops and Clergy, had in themselves absolute and entire power

* Orderi. Vitalis, p. 857. *Ite Dominum Papam de parte mea salutate, et Apostolica præcepta humiliter audite; sed superfluas inventiones regno meo inferre nolite.*

† Arthur Duc. *in Vita Henrici Chichly*, pp. 56, 57.

‡ Rot. Parliam. 17, Edward III., n. 59. 25. Edw. III. oct. purif. n. 13, 7, Hen. IV. n. 114. 13. Hen. VI. n. 38.

of governing and reforming the Church of this Kingdom, without any dependency upon any foreign authority. It was never doubted, neither could it be denied upon any warrantable ground, that they had within their own dominions, the same power which Constantine had in the Empire; and that our Bishops had the same which St. Peter had in the Church. On which account, since the erection of Canterbury into an Archbishopric, the Bishops of that See were held, *Quasi alterius orbis Papæ*, as Urban the IInd. styled them;* and were accustomed to exercise *vices Apostolicas in Anglia;* that is, they used the same power within this Island which the Pope did in other parts.† And in our writers the Archbishop of Canterbury is frequently called *Princeps Episcoporum Angliæ, Pontifex Summus,*‡ *Patriarcha.*§ King Edgar asserted this power to be in himself, and in his Clergy, in his memorable speech made to them, *Ego Constantini, vos Petri, gladium habetis in manibus—I bear in my hand the sword of* Constantine, *and you that of* Peter.‖ And therefore as the affairs of most concerns in the Church had their dependance upon the Emperor, and the holy men of those times did not doubt to continue to him the style of Pontifex Maximus, as Baronius notes¶ *sine ulla Christianitatis labe*—so King Edgar** was solicitous for the Church of his Kingdom, *veluti Domini sedulus Agricola, et Pastorum Pastor*—and wrote himself the Vicar of Christ, and by his laws and Canons†† he made known, that he did not assume those titles in vain.

King Edward the Confessor,‡‡ a canonized saint, declared the

* Malms. *de Pontif.* lib. 1, *in Anselm* fol. 127, 15. p. 223, *edit. Francof.* 1601.

† Eadmer. p. 27.

‡ Ib. p. 107. 33.

§ Gervas. Dorob. col. 1663. 54.

‖ Apud Ailred. col. 361, 16.

¶ Tom. 3, an. 312, n. 106. [The Editions of Baronius seem to have been altered about this portion of the history. The 93 §. would suit better as a reference; but neither there, nor in the section quoted by Sall, do the identical words appear.]

** Regularis Concordia, &c. Not. Seldeni ad Eadmerum, p. 146, 16.

†† Concil. Spelm. à p. 444, ad p. 476.

‡‡ Leg. Edw. Confess. c. 15. [*in Concilia M. Brit.* a Wilkins, tom 1, p 312.] Rex qui vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini et super omnia sanctam veneretur Ecclesiam ejus, et regat, et ab injuriis defendat.

same, and practised accordingly: *The King*, says he, *being Vicar of the Supreme King, his duty is to govern the earthly kingdom, and defend the people of the Lord from injuries, and over all to reverence, govern, and defend his Church.* The same was declared and practised by Ina,* whom Baronius [an. 740, §. 14] styles *a most pious King*, by Canute† acknowledged for a most bountiful benefactor of Churches, and of the servants of God—*Erga Ecclesias atque Dei servos, benignissimus largitor*, as Fulbertus Carnotensis‡ relates of him, and several other godly Kings of England; whose several laws respecting Ecclesiastical affairs, you may see related by Jornallens, c. 2, col. 761; c. 5, col. 830; c. 23, col. 921;§ as also the laws of Emperors to the same purpose in the books of Theodosius and Justinian.‖

The Emperors often employed their Bishops and Divines in resolving upon wholesome Decrees respecting Church affairs; and these Decrees they themselves espoused for Laws, so as the transgressors of them should be subject to penalties. This same course our Kings have taken as well in former ages, as in this latter of the Reformation of our Church. Henry VIII. having those occasions of discontent with Pope Clement VII. (which as being well known I omit to relate,) and being urged by the States of the Kingdom to execute at last what had been for a long time desired, and often attempted in England, viz. to throw off the usurped power and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over this Kingdom;—in order to proceed with due legality and consideration in so weighty a matter, wrote to the Universities, and great Monasteries and Churches of the Kingdom, in the year 1534; and the 18th of May, of the same year, to the University of Oxford, requiring them like men of virtue and profound literature, diligently to entreat, examine, and discuss a certain question,

* Leg. Inæ in Præf. p. 1.

† Leg. fol. 11, p. 109.

‡ Epist. 97, fol. 93, Canut. [Fulbert of Chartres flourished in 1007. Vid. *Henr. Gandaven. de Scripp. Eccles*, in Fabricii *Biblioth. Eccles.* p. 118, where it is stated, "scripsit Epistolas multas."]

§ [Jo. Brompton] Jornallens. [in Sir R. Twysden's Collection of English Historians, Lond. 1652.]

‖ Codex Theodos. de feriis, de nuptiis &c. de fide Catholica, de Episcopis Ecclesiis et clericis, de monachis, de hæreticis, de Apost. de Religione, de Episcopali judicio, et cod. Just. l. 1, tit. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, et passim in eo.

viz. *An Romanus Episcopus habeat majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem sibi collatam in Sacra Scriptura in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam alius Externus Episcopus—Whether the Bishop of Rome had any greater Jurisdiction given to him in Holy Scripture over this Kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop;* and to return their opinion in writing under the common seal, according to the mere and sincere truth of the same. To which, after mature deliberation and examination, they returned answer—THAT HE HATH NO SUCH JURISDICTION IN THIS LAND.

The words of the University of Oxford on returning their answer to the King upon this subject, the 27th of June, of the aforesaid year 1534, which I saw in the Records of that University,* are as follows:—

"Post susceptam itaque per nos quæstionem antedictam, cum omni humilitate, devotione, ac debita reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ nostræ Academiæ Theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus diligentia, Justitiæ Zelo, Religione et conscientia incorrupta, perscrutaremur, tam Sacræ Scripturæ libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe et sæpius à nobis evolutos et exactissime collatos, repetitos et examinatos, deinde et disputationibus solennibus palam et publice habitis, et celebratis, tandem in hanc sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus, viz. ROMANUM EPISCOPUM MAJOREM ALIQUAM JURISDICTIONEM NON HABERE SIBI A DEO COLLATAM IN SACRA SCRIPTURA IN HOC REGNO ANGLIÆ, QUAM ALIUM QUEMVIS EXTERNUM EPISCOPUM."—*We therefore, after having taken in hand this question with all humility, devotion and due reverence, the Divines of our University being called together from all places, and the space of many days and time enough being given for deliberating, in order that with all diligence possible, zeal for Justice, Religion and upright conscience, we should search as well the books of Holy Scripture, as the most approved interpreters of them; and they being very often consulted by us, and most exactly compared together, reviewed and examined; and moreover*

* In the Concilia. M. Brit. a Wilkins, tom 43, pp. 775—6.

*having celebrated and held public and solemn disputes on this subject, at last we have all unanimouslg agreed upon this sentence, viz. That* THE BISHOP OF ROME HATH NOT ANY MORE JURISDICTION GIVEN TO HIM BY GOD IN HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN THIS KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, THAN ANY OTHER FOREIGN BISHOP HATH.

Having met with this religious and learned declaration of the University of Oxford, I thought convenient to relate it here, as well for the authority which the opinion of this great University is apt to give to the matter; as also, that it may be to us an argument of the zeal and diligence, wherewith the other Schools, Monasteries, and Churches proceeded to deliver their opinions upon this subject.

And if that be true, which the Famous Canonist Navar* affirms, (and now is more commonly said and confirmed by Casuists and Canonists) that he who does anything, following therein the opinion of one Doctor of known learning and piety (though others may be of a contrary opinion) is excused, though haply what he did should not be just in itself; and if the authority of *one* Doctor of learning and piety can justify a man's proceeding, shall not the opinion of so great a number of men famous for learning and piety, who were then in the Universities, Monasteries and Churches of England, justify the proceedings of King Henry in freeing his

* Navar. cap. Cum contingat de rescript. remed. 1. n. 30; qui unius Doctoris eruditione ac animi pietate celebris autoritate ductus, fecerit aliquid, excusatur, etiamsi id non esset justum, et alii contrarium tenerent.

[The character here given of this (in his way) celebrated Spaniard is quite correct:—" *Martinus de Azpilcueta*, clarissimus Navarræi nominis (unde Navarrus vulgo denominatus) Canonicæque totius doctrinæ lumen fulgentissimum, Varasoayn hujus regni oppido haud longe a Pampelone dissito, natales referrebat acceptos." He was born in 1493, and died, after having occupied the Professorship of Canon-law at Salamanca and Coimbra, at Rome, in 1586, where he had spent the last 27 years of his life. His works—" auctoris sui varæ imagines, quas posteritas omnis nunquam non reverebitur" were collected into 3 vols. Romæ 1590; and the *Manuale sive Enchiridion Confessorum*, as translated into Latin, was published separately at Rome 1558, Cologne 1600, &c.; afterwards it was translated into Italian, and is to this day referred to in Papal publications. Vide Antonio *Biblioth. Hisp. nova.* tom. 2 pp. 93—6. The *Relectio*, from which Sall quotes, was first published at Coimbra, and, after revision, at Rome, 1575, and Madrid, 1595. " A quo universa Eccles. Catholica fructum accepit," writes Miræus *(Scripp. Seculi* xvi. p. 222. in reference more especially to his Manual for Confessors,

Kingdom from the slavery in which it was held under the Bishop of *Rome?*

This indeed was to lay the axe to the root of the Romish usurpations and corruptions in this land. Their pretended authority in it being found and declared not to be from God, nor grounded upon his Divine word, but illegally and fraudulently intruded upon the nation; it follows that they were all at their own liberty to reform their Church, by a national Synod of their own Prelates and Clergy, under the protection and inspection of their Prince; as in other times was done in this land: and in consequence the states of the kingdom, being congregated in Parliament an. 1533, declared, *that his Majesty, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, all such errors, heresies, abuses, &c. which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction may be lawfully reformed, repressed ordered, redressed, &c.** And this was not to assume a *new* power, but to renew and publish the ancient right of the Kings of this land.

It is true that Popes in former ages, not finding means to hinder our Princes from exercising this right of their own, would by privilege continue it unto them. So Pope Nicholas finding our Kings to express one part of their office to be *Regere populum Domini et Ecclesiam ejus,* wrote to Edward the Confessor—*Vobis et posteris vestris regibus (Angliæ) committimus convocationem ejusdem loci et omnium totius Angliæ Ecclesiarum, et vice nostra cum consilio Episcoporum, et Abbatum constituatis ubique quæ justa sunt.*†—*We commit unto you and your successors, Kings of England, the Government of that place, and of all the Churches of England; that in our name ye may, by the Councils of Bishops and Abbots, order in all places what will be just* The same Pope allowed the same privilege to the Emperor: *Nicolaus Papa hoc domino meo privilegium, quod ex Paterno jure susceperat, præbuit;* said the Emperor's advocate‡—*Pope Nicholas allowed this privilege to my Master,*

* Stat. 26, Hen. viii. c. 1, begun Nov. 3, end. Dec. 18. 1533.

† [Nicolas II. The Bull is included in Wilkins's *Concilia,* tom 1, p. 320, where however we have "advocationem et tuitionem" for *convocationem.*]

‡ Bar. xi. Annal. 1059, n. 35.

*which himself had by his birthright.* By similar arts, finding the people of England unwilling to acknowledge any Ecclesiastical power besides that of the land, and the Archbishop of Canterbury for supreme of it under the King, the Popes have contrived that the Archbishop of Canterbury should exercise that power as from them, under the name of *Legatus natus*, or Legate, by his place, of the Roman See.

This may seem like what they report of the great Cham of Tartary, that after he has dined, he orders leave to be given by the sound of a trumpet, to all the Kings of the world, that they may go to dinner. But the Pope drives further in his grants, that in time, if power should assist him, he may force upon them a subjection to him; as if really the Princes owed their power to him. But the arts of Rome are too much known in England, for the people to be further deluded by them.

And therefore a National Synod, or a Convocation of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Clergy of the Kingdom being celebrated at London by order of King Edward VI., in the sixth year of his reign, being that of our Lord 1552, a summary of articles was agreed upon* to remove dissensions in Religion, and reform the Church from corruptions which had crept into it, so

* A copy of these Articles has been reprinted by Dr. Lamb. Sall uses too elevated language perhaps about the Synod, at which they were agreed upon, and though the title of the Latin and English book containing them would seem to assert that "they had been prepared, or at least sanctioned by the Convocation of 1552; this was not the case; they were neither submitted to the Convocation nor confirmed by any Act of Parliament. Nevertheless it was certainly the intention of the King, and of the Archbishop (Cranmer) to require the subscription of the Clergy to them; but the period between their promulgation, and the death of the King was so short, that this intention could hardly have been carried into effect in a single instance. The King's letter which is prefixed to the book containing the articles, is dated, Greenwich, May 20, 1553, and Edward died the 6th of the July following. But there is extant among the Papers of Archbishop Parker, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, a Letter from the Visitors to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge, dated June 1, 1553, in which they state—'That these Articles having been carefully prepared by good and learned men, published by Royal Authority, and sent to all the Bishops in their respective Dioceses; they think it right to send them also to the University;' and they go on to require, 'That every Doctor and Bachelor of Divinity, as well as every Master of Arts, shall, before his creation, by his oath and by his subscription declare his assent to the said Articles; and pledge himself both in the Schools and Pulpit, to defend them as true and agreeable to the Word of God, and to oppose all Articles contrary to them.'" Lamb's *Historical Account*, &c., p. 4.

pious and moderate, so well grounded upon Divine Scripture, and upon the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Apostolic Church, that Romanists may more easily rail and rant at, than discover any real error in them.

My adversary, *N. N.*, after highly inveighing against these Articles, and boasting of his having discovered heresies in them, singles out the XXII. Article, which runs thus:—*The Roman Doctrine of Purgatory, Indulgences, Veneration and Adoration as well of Images as of Reliques, as also of the Invocation of Saints, is absurd and vainly invented; nor is it grounded upon any authority of Scripture, but is rather repugnant to the Word of God.* Upon which Article *N. N.* delivers this heavy censure, that *it is false, profane, and heretical.* But in the whole discourse of the second part of this treatise, I will demonstrate (God willing) that it is rather true, religious, and Catholic; as also I intend by the help of God, to vindicate the rest of those Articles, in a separate Treatise, from the cavils of *Alexander White* and other Romanists, whereby *N. N.* will find how much he is mistaken in taking the said *Alexander White's* book* against the XXXIX. Articles for unanswerable; as certainly he is far mistaken in saying resolutely, though without having any ground for it, that the aforesaid *White* has bestowed more time and deliberation in quitting those Articles, than I have done in

* The title of Mr. White's book is *Schismatis Anglicani redargutio, authore Alexandro White ex eodem Schismate per Dei Gratiam ad fidem Cath. converso;* Lovanii, 1661.

Mr. White (according to French, p 22,) was "bred in the Protestant Religion, and for a long time a zealous Defender of said XXXIX. Articles; but after a long and due examination of the substance of them, he refuted them so substantially, as to this day, no man of the Church of England hath answered him. I observe in this place, that this gentleman spent a great deal of time in deliberation (about seven years) before *abjuring* said XXXIX. Articles, which he once believed, (as you do now, *Sall)* as Articles of faith, which belief and doctrine he sucked from the cradle; much more time I say, he had bestowed, and deliberation in quitting them, than you have done in deserting the Catholic Religion, and its holy communion, in which you were bred and your parents before you, which cannot be spoken but to your shame and infamy. The light and grace God gave to *Mr. White* (the gentleman I speak of) led him out of *Babylon* into *Jerusalem;* and you without great musing on the weightiest matter, can ever concern you the damnation, or salvation, of your soul, are fled from Jerusalem to Babylon."

On p. 24, French adds, "he hath impeached your new *English Creed* (the XXXIX. Articles) of a treason against Heaven and verity!!"

deserting the communion of the Roman Church. Seven years he says Mr. White spent in deliberating upon his resolution; but certainly I have spent many more years in deliberating upon mine. How many they were, as it is not easy to demonstrate, so it is not material to tell; men may deliberate long and err at last in their resolution. To my reasons alleged for that resolution which I took I appeal, and do willingly expose them to public view and examination, that others, as well as I, may judge of the weight of them.

Very foul and slanderous also has been the mistake of our adversary, in saying that the authors of our XXXIX. Articles were only some few obscure men, Priests and Friars run out of Germany,* and that by them the Church and Kingdom of England was governed in the Reformation of their Religion. How false their report is, may appear by the public Records and Histories of the land, and by several Acts of Parliament passed with great deliberation of all the States of the Kingdom upon the settlement of the Reformation, and of those Articles, as well in that great Synod or Convocation celebrated under Edward VI. in the year 1552, above mentioned; as also another no less famous Synod held at London, ten years after, viz. 1562, wherein the said Articles were reviewed, examined, and confirmed.

I have seen among Selden's books† kept in the Bodleian

* On pp. 110—119, edit. 1749, of the *Doleful Fall*, from which may be selected the following specimen: "Let any Christian man (I say) be judge, whether this man *(Cranmer)* together with *Ochinus*, a *Jew*; *Bucer*, an *Atheist*, (or at the best a Jew); *Peter Martyr* of the Religion the Parliament would have him to be of; *Hooper* and *Latimer* and *Rogers* stubborn discontented *Presbyterians*; *Bale*, and *Coverdale*, *Lutherans*, two lewd and runagate Fryars, whether he that cares for his own soul, should rather believe these wicked impious men, in points of faith, and matters of salvation, than all the Ancient Fathers and the holy Councils!" p. 116.

† Dr. Lamb, in his work upon the Articles, remarks, "there is one copy of which I ought to make some mention, viz. that of Wolfe's edition of 1563, with the names of the Convocation of 1571 on a sheet of Parchment sewed on its cover. It is not at all clear that these names were subscribed to any Articles. If they were they must have been attached to an English copy of 1571, from which they have been separated and sewed to this book. Selden obtained it from Abp. Laud."

*An Historical Account of the XXXIX. Articles, with exact copies of the Latin and English MSS.* (Cambridge, 1829.) p. 40.

A full account is given in the same work, (pp. 15—20,) of the "famous Synod

Library of Oxford, an authentic copy of these Articles, printed at London in the year 1563, and a scroll of parchment annexed to it with the subscriptions (by their proper hands) of the members of the lower house of Convocation, being all Deans, Archdeacons, and procurators of Clergy; which I found to be in number 104, besides the Archbishops and Bishops sitting in the upper house, whose names came not in my way to see; but I suppose they were all the Prelates of the land, as they used to meet in Convocation. And is this to shuffle up a Reformation, and make articles in a clandestine manner, without due examination, as our adversary would make his reader believe?*

in London" 1562, to which Dr. Sall has just referred, and the signatures of 106 individuals to the articles, agreed upon at that Synod, are there faithfully reprinted from the Latin MSS. preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

* For the way in which the Trent Decrees were "made," the reader may consult Mendham's *Memoirs of the Council of Trent from MS. Records*, &c.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### *A view of* N. N.'s *discourse upon* Transubstantiation *and upon the affinity of the Roman Church with the Grecian.*

THOUGH *N. N.* had declared his purpose in the beginning to deal with me not Scholastically, but Historically; yet it seems he would not part with me, without disputing upon the point of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. He alleges testimonies of Fathers, and Miracles in favour of it; and pretends it to have been a doctrine of more ancient standing than the Lateran Council! To all which I have given a full answer in what I have delivered by my discourse formerly printed, and in what will follow in the second part of this treatise from the 18th Chapter forward.

Only I will reflect here upon two or three very gross mistakes of *N. N.* in his present discourse with me upon the point. The first is respecting my belief of this great mystery. He says resolutely (without giving any ground for his assertion, as indeed he could have none for it) that I do not believe Christ to be really present at all in this Sacrament: *Why then* (says he) *should he dispute with us about the doctrine of Transubstantiation, seeing he flatly denies the body and blood of Christ to be really and substantially present in the Sacrament?* *

But, good Sir, where have you seen this flat denial of mine? Certainly not in my Declaration (which seems to be the object of your quarrel;) not in the XXXIX. Articles; not in any public Catechism, or System of Doctrine generally received by the Church of England: nay, the Catechism approved by authority, and commended to the use of all—being inserted into the Common Prayer Book—delivers a doctrine quite opposite. For to the question proposed, respecting the *inward* or *invisible part* of this Sacrament, this answer is returned—*The body and blood of*

* This false charge has been reiterated up to, and is still made in, the present day. See *the Popish Doctrine of Transubtantiation refuted.* By the Rev. G. Ingram, D.D. London, 1840; where information on this subject is adduced, most disgraceful to Romish controvertists.

*Christ which are verily and indeed taken, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.* And is this to deny flatly, that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the Sacrament, as you impute to us? When a Jesuit in Germany broached a similar calumny, in a Conference held with some of the English Nobility when waiting upon our King in that country, in presence of his Majesty and of a Prince Elector in that Empire; both his Majesty and the Noblemen took offence at his speech as being a foul calumny; and therefore desired the Reverend and learned Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, to vindicate the Church of England from that aspersion: which he did abundantly, in a very learned Tract, published under the title of *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis.* Wherein he proves by the Articles, public Catechisms, and by the testimonies of several very grave and learned Prelates,* that all true Protestants, especially those of the Church of England, do constantly believe and profess, that Christ our Saviour is really and substantially present in the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist; and his body and blood really and substantially received in it by the faithful: and accordingly he alleges the learned Bilson, Bp. of Winchester, declaring the belief and doctrine of the Church of England relative to this point in the words following:—*Eucharistiam non solum figuram esse Corporis Domini, sed etiam ipsam veritatem, naturam, atque substantiam in se comprehendere—That the Eucharist is not only a figure or representation of the body of our Saviour, but that it comprehends also the very truth, and nature, and substance of his body.*

* Vide Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit*, pp. 41—73; Montague in *Anti-diatribis;* Laud's *Relation of the Conference with Fisher*, §. 353, p. 192, edit. 1673; Hooker's *Eccles. Polity*, Book V. §. 55; Roffin's *de potest. Pap. in Præfat. Stat. primo*, Elis, c. 1, et 8. Elis, c. 12, 13. Elis. c. 1.—[The *John Roffensis* referred to in this Note, it may be proper just to observe, was *John Buckeridge*, who was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1611. Godwin (*de Præsulibus*, p. 539 Cantabr. 1743,) gives his work high praise. He died Bp. of Ely. in 1631. Dr. Cosin's *History of Transubstantiation* has just appeared in a new and much approved form, under the editorial care of the Rev. I. S. Brewer. But the view of Archbp. *Cranmer* upon this important subject is far more just, simple, and free from confusion. See his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*, particularly his extended Answer to Gardiner's papistic sophistries on the subject. The late edition of this venerable Martyr by Rev. H. Jenkyns, at the University press in Oxford, needs not, though it has, our emphatic commendation; vol. 2, p. 290.)

The very same Doctrine is contained in the 28th article of the XXXIX above mentioned, in these words:—*The body of Christ is given, or taken and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.* Here you have a real giving, eating, and taking; and consequently a real presence of the body of Christ confessed by our Church as well as by yours. Our difference is only regarding the *mode* of his presence. We say that mode or manner is spiritual; you pretend that it is corporal, but with what consequence, or coherence with the rules of common reason, you will never be able to declare; nor how to avoid contradiction, in saying that his flesh and blood is present in the Sacrament after a corporal manner; and withal that none of our corporal senses is able to give testimony of such a presence.

Neither will you find it an easier task to declare unto us what may be the object of your adoration given to the consecrated bread. If you say it is the person of our Saviour, God and Man really present, we adore and reverence the same as well as you. If you pretend that your adoration extends to more; that must be only the accidents of the bread and wine appearing to the senses; which accidents, being in your own confession mere creatures, to give to them the worship of *Latria*, cannot with any colour of reason be excused from a formal Idolatry.

The second very gross error which I perceive in the discourse of *N. N.* upon this subject is, that finding me complain of the Roman Church, for forcing upon Christians a belief of monstrous Miracles in their doctrine of Transubstantiation; he exclaims against me in tragical terms, as if I had reviled God's wonders, calling Miracles monstrous;* and appeals to the Catholic reader

* Most justly so are they: for evidence read Bellarmine *de Sacram. Euchar.* lib. 3. cap. 8. § *postremum arg.*; and lib. 4. cap. 24. § *quarta ratio*; and the *School of the Eucharist established upon the miraculous respects and acknowlegments of birds and insects, &c.* Lond. 1687; translated from the French of T. Bridoul, a Flanders Jesuit, who published his works at Lisle, 1672. See *Biblioth. Soc. Jesu*, p. 772. edit. 1676.

"It is," says Bellarmine, "described in his life," [that is, the Life of St. Anthony of Padua], "by Surius in the 3d. vol. and by St. Antonius in his *Historical Summary*, p. 3. tit. 24. c. 3. that St. Anthony being engaged in a dispute concerning the truth of the Lord's body in the Eucharist with a certain Heretic in the neighbourliood of Toulouse [for at this time the Albigenses, who were led astray by this as well as many other errors, vexed the Church,] the heretic de-

for a severe censure against me in these words, *Num quid hæc est atrox homuncionis insultantis Christo et Ecclesiæ rabies?* (p. 126.) And I appeal to any reader of sense, whether I may not on good ground return on him this other quere, *Annon hic est hominis frigide, id est non opportune, excandescentis inconditus clamor?* (p. 136.) Is not this cry a fit of zeal unseasonably burning? To call those miracles which they pretend to intervene in the consecrated bread *monstrous*, he takes for a contempt of God's wonders in general. So if I say that a man born with two heads and three eyes is a monstrous man, that must be taken for an affront put upon all human kind!

Sir, I reverence God's wonders, and those many Miracles

manded of Anthony, whom he knew to be endowed by God with the gift of Miracles, a sign of this sort,—'I have a horse, [*Jumentum*, perhaps a pack-horse] 'he said, to whom for the space of *three* whole days I will give no food. When the *third* day is finished, do you come with the Sacrament, and I will come with the horse, and I will pour out before him some corn; if the horse, leaving the corn, goes and *venerates* the Sacrament, I will believe.' It was done as he desired; and when the *third* day was finished, Anthony, accompanied with a crowd of the faithful, and holding in his hand the Venerable Sacrament, addressed the horse, "In the virtue and name of the Creator, whom I truly hold in my hands, although unworthy of it,' [*In virtute et nomine Creatoris tui, quem in manibus, licet indignus,*] I command and enjoin you, O animal, immediately to come with *humility* and to *revere* him, that this heretical wickedness may hence learn, that every creature is subject to the Creator, whom the *sacerdotal dignity* continually handles on the altar: [*quem sacerdotalis dignitas jugitur tractat in altari.*] Having uttered these words, the horse, *unmindful* of the corn poured out before him, and his hunger, ran to the Saint, and inclining his head and bending his knees [*et capite inclinato, ac genibus curvatis*], he adored his Lord in *the best manner he could* [*eo modo potuit*], and confuted the heretic."—Bellarmine *de sac. Euch.* lib. 3, c. 8.

For this translation and the reference to Bellarmine we are indebted to the Rev. J. Heron M'Guire, of St. Helens, Lancashire.

In the present year a volume has been published which states that St. *Francis De Girolamo* S. I. having been interrupted by a carriage, during a sermon, which he was preaching in the open air, "the persons in it were requested to wait a few moments, and not interrupt the servant of God, but they contemptuously cried out to the coachman to drive on—'Blessed Jesus!' he exclaimed, holding the Crucifix before the horses, 'since these goddesses have no respect for thee, the brute beasts at least shall do thee homage.' And in very deed the animals sank down on their knees, and would not stir till the discourse was over:" p. 80, of *Lives of St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Francis de Girolamo, St. John Joseph of the Cross, St. Pacificus of San Severino, and St. Veronica Giuliani, whose Canonization took place on Trinity Sunday*, 1839; 12mo. London, published by C. Dolman, 1839.

wrought by his powerful hand; and I bless his holy name for all. But those miracles which you would have us believe to happen in the consecration of the Eucharist—as, that the substance of the bread vanishes away, and the accidents of it remain without any substance to rest upon, &c.—these I deny to be true Miracles or works of God, but a product of your erring imagination; and if you will persist in calling them Miracles, certainly they must appear monstrous ones. For the proof whereof, you give yourself very considerable assistance by a definition, or description, of a Miracle, which you produce out of Aquinas, how much to your purpose is not easy to find; but very clearly it serves for my present purpose, of making your pretended miracles in the Eucharist appear most properly monstrous. You tell us that Aquinas says, *quod nomen miraculi ab admiratione sumitur: Admiratio autem consurgit, cum effectus sunt manifesti et causa occulta**—*that the word miracle comes from admiration; and this admiration doth arise when the effect appears, but the cause is hidden.* Here we have the common and ordinary nature of a miracle described; that a wonderful effect should appear, though the cause should be hidden. Now it remains to know what is the proper notion of a monster. Philosophers give us this definition of it out of Aristotle—*Monstrum est effectus â rectâ et solitâ secundum speciem dispositione degenerans;* that is, *A Monster is an effect degenerating from the right and common disposition of things of that kind.* So that a man born with two heads is called monstrous, because he degenerates from the right and common disposition of other men. The College of *Coimbra* declares this to be *vulgata Monstri definitio*†—the commonly received definition of a Monster.

Now then, if the common and ordinary nature of a Miracle is, as you tell us out of Aquinas, that the miraculous effect should be manifest and apparent, though the cause were hidden; then a miracle degenerating from this common course and nature of miracles, so that the effect pretended to be miraculous should not be manifest or known to any, must be according to these rules, a monstrous Miracle, deviating and degenerating from the com-

* 1. P. quæst. 105, A. 7.

† *Conimb. in Arist.* 2, *Phy.* c. 9, q. 5, Ar. 1.

mon course of true Miracles. Of this kind are your imaginary Miracles of the Eucharist: that the bread and wine should be substantially converted into the flesh and blood of our Saviour corporally present. If this were so indeed, and therefore a real and true Miracle; this miraculous effect would appear to the senses of men, as that true and miraculous conversion of the water into wine, at the wedding in *Cana* of Galilee, appeared to the senses of men present there; and thereby appeared to be a true Miracle, and more fit to produce a belief in the beholders; which is the ordinary aim of Divine Providence in working Miracles; and which [result] certainly Christ would not have obtained from the persons then present, if he had only told them that the water remaining with the same colour, taste, and smell which it had before, was really converted into wine, without letting any of their senses bear testimony to such a conversion. Of this latter kind are your imaginary Miracles, which being of your own making, I may without offence to God, or prejudice to his true Miracles, call *monstrous*, as degenerating from the common course of true Miracles.

The *third* mistake which I am to put *N. N.* in mind of at present is, concerning his pretension to affinity with the Greek and Ruthenian Church,* in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of other points controverted, with our Reformed Churches; for which he pleases himself in telling us of a favourable relation to his purpose, given by a *Muscovite* Priest to a *French* Prelate who feasted him.† But that he may see how wide is his mistake herein, and how far the Grecians and Ruthenians are from joining issue with the Roman Church against us, I remit him to what I have related above upon more solid and authorized grounds in the XIIIth chapter of this Treatise.

Neither indeed can I see upon what ground you can pretend to union with the Greek Church in their tenets; if it be not that

* If the reader is at all anxious to enquire into this supposed "affinity," he may consult the Dissertation of Buddeus—*Ecclesia Romana cum Ruthenicâ irreconciliabilis*—included in his *Miscellanea sacra* Jenæ 1727, pt. 2, pp 165—214.

† This Conference "passed between *L. H. Gondrin*, Archbishop of *Sans*, a very learned Prelate, and a venerable Priest of *Muscovia*, and a Canon of the Cathedral of Moscow, then in the retinue of the *Muscovite* Ambassador in Paris, and with the Secretary of the said Ambassador. This Conference was made at Paris in 1688." *Doleful Fall*, p. 161, edit. 1749.

several of your greatest schoolmen, such as are *Lombard*,* *Bonaventure*,† *Scotus*,‡ *Aquinas*,§ and others, endeavour to excuse the Grecians in their chief error respecting the proceeding of the Holy Ghost only from the Father, and not from the Son; saying that therein they differ from the Roman Church only in the manner of speaking, not in the substance of Doctrine.

* Lomb. lib. 1, *Sentent. dist.* xi. sane sciendum est, quod licet in præsenti articulo a nobis Græci verbo discordent, tamen sensu non differunt. [The words are rather different in the edition of Lombard (Paris 1632) to which we have access—but the sentiment is the same.]

† Bona. in 1, Sent. d. 11, A. 1, qu. 1.

‡ Scot. 1, Sent. d. prima. qu. 1.

§ Aquin. 1, p. q. 36, 42.

## CHAPTER XIX.

N. N.'s *book*,* *entitled the* Bleeding Iphigenia, *examined; his abusive language therein bestowed upon persons of honour, and his censure upon the King's Majesty reprehended.*

THOUGH this book begins with me, and in the running title styles itself a Preface to the other greater book designed against me; yet I have so small a share of this Preface addressed to me, that I hope the discreet reader will excuse me if I am not so copious in discussing it as some may expect. Truly the matter and style of it is of such a nature, that it made me doubtful for a while in resolving upon *any* reply to it. But upon more consideration I conceived it my duty to make the reflections following upon it.

* This book is perhaps the very rarest in the class to which it belongs, no copy of the original being known to exist, except, we believe, in one of the Dublin Libraries. The fuller title is, "*The Bleeding Iphigenia*; *or, an excellent Preface of a work unfinished, published by the author's friend, with the reasons of publishing it; Lovain: printed in the year* 1674." A small re-impression of the rare volume was made in 1829, but not published; and we must again acknowledge ourselves indebted to the Rev. Cæsar Otway for the acquisition of a copy. The author Dr. Nicholas French "first came under notice as Parish Priest in the town of Wexford in Ireland; in this avocation the Rebellion of 1641 found him; and being an Ecclesiastic of ascertained talent, devotedness, and activity, he was elected as Burgess to sit in the General Assembly at Kilkenny. He did not remain long in this capacity, for he was consecrated Bishop of Ferns in the year 1643, and it is remarkable that he was the only individual elevated to the Prelacy from the period of the breaking out of the Rebellion to the arrival of Rennucini as Nuncio from Pope Innocent the Xth. In 1646 he bore a prominent part as Chancellor and most leading member of the Prelatical Congregation at Waterford, who denounced the Peace made with the Marquess of Ormonde, and excommunicated its adherents; shortly after he changed sides, and as partisan for the Nobility and Gentry, was sent ambassador to Rome. On his return he was instrumental in promoting the second peace with Ormonde, of 1648; but again veering round, he became the most vigorous member of the synod of James-town, which denounced the same second peace, and excommunicated the Lord Lieutenant. Dr. French on the departure of Ormonde, and during the brief Lieutenancy of his R. Catholic successor Clanricarde, preached in favour of a peace with the Cromwellians, and subsequently retired to Gallicia in Spain, on the entire subjugation of Ireland by Coote and Ludlow. There he remained

After having bestowed some few pages in bemoaning a supposed Fall of mine from the Catholic Faith, he falls suddenly on lamenting the sufferings of the *Irish*, and to accuse the supposed authors of it. As to the *first* I have endeavoured to give satisfaction in the whole discourse of this Treatise. If he has true charity for me, he will be glad to find that I am not in that bad condition which he supposed. And if he will be ingenuous, and has not resolved (as it is usual with them) to shut his eyes against

until the year 1666, acting as Suffragan to thē Bishop of St. Jago. About this period, having entered into an amicable correspondence with Peter Walsh the Franciscan, who was much in the confidence of Ormonde, he was invited back to his native land. But having, while on his return, written a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, notifying the conduct of the James-town Synod, it so offended the Duke, that his return was countermanded, and instead of proceeding from St. Sebastian to Ireland, he passed through France into Flanders; here he exerted all penitential diligence with the Internuncio Airoldi to have the Papal censure removed, which he had incurred for promoting the second peace of 1648. And restored to favour, he was by Airoldi's means provided for at Ghent by being appointed Suffragan to the Bishop of that Diocese. While here he entered again into controversy with Peter Walsh, on the subject of his History of the Irish Remonstrance, and he arraigned the Franciscan as guilty of the *unpardonable sin* in calling *that* a most bloody and wicked Rebellion, which the Bishop deemed and decided to be a just and necessary war. About the year 1673 he wrote the present tract on occasion of the secession of the *Jesuit* Andrew Sall from the Roman Church. Two years afterwards he put forth a severe attack against Ormonde and Peter Walsh, in a work entitled 'The Unkind Deserter of Loyal Men and True Friends.' He subsequently wrote his 'Doleful Fall of Andrew Sall,' and died about the year 1680, at the advanced age of 74."—*Introductory Biographical Notice to the reprint of the Bleeding Iphigenia of* 1829, by the Rev. Cæsar Otway.

"The main scope of it (the *Iphigenia)* was a plain justification of the Irish Rebellion, and breach of the two peaces by his Lordship (French) and the rest of the Clergy at *Waterford* in 46, and at *James-town* in the year 49. And therefore in the foresaid year 1674, when he sent me that little book, earnestly pressed me for my judgment of it. Finally, he had, on my dislike of it, signified by letter to him, not only altered again his style, replied with much acrimony, treated me as a public enemy to the nation, as an *Ishmael* against all, and all against me; and in a word, arraigned me as guilty of the unpardonable sin, viz. *the calling their just, holy, and necessary war, a Rebellion*; but withal, and notwithstanding my advice to the contrary, dispersed so many printed copies of the said *Iphigenia*, both in *Ireland* and *England* too, that several of them came to the hands of such Protestants of both nations, as were most concerned to make, and accordingly did make that use of them, which was most proper and obvious to continue for ever the afflictions of a people, who justified rebellion, as a *just, holy, and necessary war*, against their lawful Prince."—Walsh's *Four Letters*, Preface; printed 1686.

all evidences, that may let him see his errors, or entertain a charitable thought of his Christian neighbours, he may perceive clearly by what I have said hitherto, that by embracing the communion of the Church of *England*, I have *not* forsaken the *true* Catholic Faith and Church; that I am far from being guilty of the Heresies, or the associate of those Heretics whom he mentions.

Now as to the *second*, respecting the miseries of the *Irish*, I heartily condole with him therein, but cannot approve of his manner of pleading for them; nor of some doctrines which he lets fall by the way. I think it to be a more Christian duty, and more becoming a good Pastor, to exhort people in affliction to a conformity with God's holy will, and to an acknowledgment of their sins which have drawn his anger upon them, with due repentance for them; than to excuse their errors and thereby encourage them to provoke Divine Justice to further severities against them. The former I have done on all occasions; the second I see you do in the particulars of your book which I am now to examine.

I will not debate with you concerning the matters of fact which you handle; who began, or who were more faulty in those unhappy revolutions. I do not envy you the opportunities which you had of greater knowledge in that part than myself, who left the Country in my younger age, two years before those Tragedies began, and never returned until some years after our Sovereign's happy Restoration. I leave to others better furnished with notices, to examine your statements on that subject. But I may judge of the style and doctrinal part of your book, grounding my judgment (as I hope I shall do) upon good reasons.

And *first*, as regards the style, I am probably persuaded, that no sober or wise man, even of the party which you pretend to favour, will approve of the harsh and contemptuous language wherewith you speak of persons of great honour and quality; especially of one of the great Peers of the Realm,* an Earl, and

* The Earl of Orrery; "Orrery," writes Dr. French, "you cannot say soe much for yourselfe in the ranck of Nobility; but be what you will, *English* or *Irish*, I will tell you what an English Gentleman writes of you (I have myselfe seene the man) disguised under the name of *William Allen*, in a most excellent piece, styled, *Killing is noe Murther*, speaking therein of the qualities of a tyrant, applying all to *Cromwell*, of the fift quality he speaks thus—*In all places they have their spyes*, and delators, that is, they have *Fleetwoods;* theire Broughalls, theire S. Johns, (besides innumerable small spyes) to appeare discontented, and not to

son to one of the greatest Earls of this Monarchy, Lord President of that *fair and goodly Province of Munster*, so styled by yourself; not to mention his personal talents, adapted to make even one of lower birth noble, and to gain him respect. All these titles and honourable qualities could not induce you to give him once any of those civilities and marks of respect, which are due to persons of his degree and quality. And what is yet more intolerable, not contented to abuse his person, you extend your contemptuous language to his whole family, linked by manifold ties of consanguinity with the most illustrious families of England and Ireland.

I know that one of the Rules of your Roman Expurgatory Index is,* to blot out of all books any honorary title of wit or virtue given to Heretics (which is to say in their language, to any Christian who is not of their communion) a rule indeed rude enough; but I have not heard yet of any rule given, for divesting Earls and Lords, of their ordinary titles, (rather the said rules permit it of courtesy) if it be not perhaps a branch of that grand power which they assign to the Pope of deposing Kings; and of which *N. N.* may pretend to partake of so much as may enable him to degrade an Earl. Certainly this practice of speaking with contempt of Peers and Presidents of Provinces, may be sooner learnt in the School of Rome, than in the School of Christ and his Apostles. When our dear Saviour was brought before the President of Judea, Pilate, and most unjustly sentenced to

side with them; that under that guise, they *may gett trust, and make discoveries. Orrery* in Cromwell's tyme was Lord Broughalls."—*Bleeding Iphigenia.*

There is no pagination in this reprint, but the passage, if the book is accessible, will be found over the signature * * * * * * 3. From so rare a volume this extract may be acceptable, though of no great importance. It is however curious in some other respects.

* Index Expurg. noviss. edit. Matrit. 1667. Reglas gener. 16. advertent. 5. p. XIX. Todo lo que tiene sonido, oapariencia de alabanza se les niegue a los que estan fuera de la yglesia. Specialmente todos los epitetos de bueno, virtuoso, y pio, ni el titulo de Sennor o Don a quien es Sennor temporal, y el de Padre o suegro a quien to es, por cortezia, aunque no se le deve. [Dr. Sall seems to have abridged or copied from a different Spanish edition from that to which he refers, as *there* the matter is much amplified. The same distinction is maintained in Modern Indexes:—"Ephitheta honorifica et omnia in laudem hæreticorum dicta deleantur." Instructio Clem. VIII. auct. regulis Indicis adjecta; (de correct. lib. §. 2.) p. XX. Romæ, 1786.]

death by him, he uttered no bitter or contemptuous word against him. When the great Apostle Paul stood before Porcius Festus Governor of the same Province, and was abused by him, calling his excellent speech madness, Paul answered him in mild and respectful terms, *I am not mad most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.** Could not you likewise speak what you conceive to be truth with *soberness*, without offending Governors and great men by contemptuous expressions? Does your calling give you greater right to reprehend Princes and Governors, than that of Christ and St. Paul did to them?

Thus matters are ordered in the School of Christ and of his Apostles, but the Roman School teaches different lessons: a very famous one *N. N.* professes to have learned there, which is, that he honours the Pope or Bishop of Rome, whom he calls *Luminare majus—the Greater Light*, more than the King, whom he styles *Luminare minus—the Meaner Light.* This he affirms to be the practice of his Catholics, which was taught to them by Pope Innocent the IIIrd,† who declared himself to be as much above Emperors and Kings on earth, as the sun is above the moon in the heavens; of which and of the bold glosses of his Canonists, we shall say more hereafter.‡

*N. N.* seems to pretend to a share in this vast superiority of the Pope over Princes. He betakes himself to a seat of Judicature, and pronounces a severe sentence against our gracious Sovereign, his own natural Prince—That he has not been just and impartial in the distribution of his favours to his subjects, applying to his Majesty that old verse, *Non erat Rex Jupiter omnibus idem—that he was not the same King to all;* that all being guilty in Ireland, (as he supposes, for this complaint) he extended his Royal bounty to one party more than to the other. In which supposition *N. N.* delivers both the guilt of his judgment and a defence of our King. If all were guilty, all lost their right to the Royal favours, all forfeited their possessions. Then all was at the will and mercy of his Majesty to confer upon those he thought worthy of it. Why will you pretend to deprive him of his liberty herein? May not his Majesty return upon you those

* Acts xxvi. 25.

† [Anno 1198 in the Canon Law, *Decretall. Greg.* IX. lib. 1, tit. 33, §. 6.]

‡ Part 2, ch. 15.

words of the Lord of the Vineyard spoken to the envious labourers —*Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eyes evil because I am good?* Matt. xx. 15.

But this is not the only defence which his Majesty has against your rash judgment. It is very manifest that his Majesty has shewn the compassions of a loving Father to all his subjects, as well in Ireland as in all the rest of his dominions, and has procured by all the means possible to him, the comfort and satisfaction of all, so far as consists with right and justice. And to this purpose, for ordering the affairs of Ireland, he has erected in Dublin a Court of Claims, placing therein Justices, whom I have heard the Irish themselves commend as men of admirable integrity and constancy, in delivering their judgment according to the right without regard of persons. Such as could prove their innocency in this Court, obtained the benefit of it; and they were many: and very many more, who would not go through that trial, had the benefit of the King's gracious pardon and Royal bounty, in restoring them to their estates and possessions. I have heard from a person of great honour and truth, and of great knowledge in the matter, that of the lands, which by rigor of Law were declared to be forfeited to the King, his Majesty has bestowed already more than the one half upon those who lost them.

Neither are the streams of his Royal Clemency put to a stand, but ever descending in graces and favours upon deserving persons, on all possible occasions; though when the claimants are so numerous, it is impossible to content all, and not easy for those standing afar off to judge which, of the several pretenders to the same thing, ought to be preferred. Men are apt to speak eagerly and conceive strongly for their own interest; self-love will suggest arguments for that side, and suppress all that favour the contrary. It is for the King, whom God has placed on high, to consider impartially, and accordingly to decide on both sides.

You plead vigorously for the necessity of a supreme Judge in spiritual matters, by whose decretory judgment all must abide; to resist it, or call it in question, must be regarded for a rebellion in Religion, for Heresy or Schism: if such a Judge were wanting, say you, there would be no end of Controversies in Religion. How far your pretension goes that way, and how well grounded, will be seen in the second part of this book; now to our present

purpose briefly. Will you not acknowledge in a proportionable parity, the like necessity of a Supreme Judge, for *civil* debates in each kingdom or state, to whose final judgment the parties must conform? Otherwise there will be no end of quarrels, no peace among neighbours. I will not assume for such a Judge that sovereign kind of Infallibility, absolutely incapable of any error, which you claim for your Ecclesiastics. But such authority as subjects ought to reverence, and abide by his decretory sentence without farther appeal, I can prove out of God's word that a King has in his dominions; so that without breach of Loyalty and transgression of God's will and command, a subject may not resist the judgment of his King, nor call it further in question; much less may he pronounce a judgment against it. See all declared by the heavenly preacher, Ecclesiastes viii. 4, in these words, *Where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him—What doest thou?* Certainly it is no act of Loyalty to question his actions done with accord and public legality, as in the case in hand. It is a commenced Rebellion. The first Rebellion of men upon earth—that of our first parents against God in Paradise, whose contriver was the Devil—began with such a question. The fiendish Serpent began his conspiracy with Eve by calling in question the Law and Government of their Prince and Master: *cur præcepit vobis Deus, ut non comederetis ex omni ligno Paradisi? Why hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the Garden?* (Gen. iii. 1.) Thus did the first Rebellion of man against God begin in questioning his Decree. Questions against Laws established by a lawful Prince, thus deriving their progeny from the Devil, should be, for that very reason, abhorred by Christians. And the rather, if we consider how destructive they must be to peace and human society, as overthrowing the very nature and intrinsic constitution of a Magistracy, ordained principally to decide quarrels, and put an end to debates, by a legal sentence; which if not obeyed, but exposed to further enquiry and censure of the parties, is fruitless, and debates will be endless.*

* Upon the presumed necessity of an Infallible Judge on Earth to decide in religious questions, see Chillingworth, Chap. 2, §. 13, &c.; and the *Prælectio de Judice ac Norma Fidei et cultus Christiani* of Bishop Davenant.

## CHAPTER XX.

*That it is not lawful for subjects to raise arms, and go to war with their fellow subjects without the consent of their Prince. The doctrine of killing men, and making war by way of prevention, and on pretext of Religion, confuted.*

From the lesson of censuring and murmuring against Royal orders, which has been rebuked in the preceding Chapter, as from a corrupt root, springs this other very evil branch, that *it is lawful for subjects to war with their fellow subjects without the consent of their Prince;* and so we find the one following the other in N. N's. Preface. Neither could we expect less from the antecedent premise. If subjects will not submit to the determination of their Prince in their debates, they must appeal to their swords. And our Antagonist tells us, magisterially, that it is the common opinion of Divines that they may do it: for which he quotes in the margin *Aquinas* and *Bannes.** But Aquinas in the place

* 2 a. 2 æ. q. 40. art. 1. Bannes ibid. dub. 4.

It is rather odd that Dr. Sall was not aware that these Doctors of *the* Church are most ambidextrous gentlemen, and that they generally talk on all sides of a question; in doing which there certainly accrues to them and to their Church a variety of advantages—such as the putting forward any opinion which may suit some particular emergency; the necessity of appeals to some deciding officer, &c. &c. Of course while the State did not impede or contravene the Church's high behests, she would be very loyal: but for a contrary course, when needful, in her estimation, see this same Thomas of Aquin, (2. 2 qu. 12, art. 2); and Bellarmine, (de Pont. Rom. lib. 5, cap. 6, 7)—references for which we must again repeat that we are indebted to the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee's speech at Exeter Hall, April 15, 1839. They are correctly quoted.

The same sentiments are expressed by Suarez, Heissius, Mariana, Azor, Sanctarel, &c. &c., as recited in Riveti Oper. tom 3, p. 1243—44; and in a very large collection in Foulis's Romish Treasons, 1671; so that if any dependence is placed upon these Ecclesiastical *Jim Crows*, it will soon be found to be miserably misplaced, "whenever the necessity of the Church requires" them to chop about, and change about. "Cardinal Pamfili, the Pope's Secretary of State, wrote to him (Clanricard) from Rome, May 20, 1646, in these words:—'The Holy See, never can, *by any positive act, approve* of the *Civil Allegiance* of Catholic subjects to an Heretical Prince.' From this maxim of the Holy See have arisen the many difficulties and disputes in England about *Oaths of Allegiance.*'" Dr. O'Connor's *Hist. Address*, pt. 2, p. 415.

quoted by him, delivers the quite contrary doctrine, affirming and proving with strong reasons, that no war is just which is not made by the authority of the Prince; and relating for his opinion these grave words of St. Augustin [*contra Faustum* lib. 22, cap. 75,] *Ordo naturalis Mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli autoritas atque consilium penes principem sit —That the natural course best suited to the peace of men requires, that the authority and determination of making a war should belong to the Prince.*

I could not but expect that Bannes, a sworn disciple of Aquinas, should be of the same opinion: surely he would not deliver for a comment upon his Master's text, a contrary doctrine to it. And so I found it, he maintaining upon the present subject these three conclusions:—the *first*, that *it is a mortal sin to make war against any kind of enemies without the consent of a Prince.* And he adds this to be the common opinion of all; and it is to be noted, that he speaks even in case the war should be against the Turks. His *second* conclusion is, *that soldiers plundering or burning towns by their own private authority, are bound to repair the damage they have done.* The *third* conclusion of Bannes runs thus—*Such as fight in a war made without the authority of the Prince, are obliged to make a restitution for all the damages that have resulted from such a war to their own Republic or Country.**

Now, if such as make a war even against Turks, (as Bannes says and proves) without the authority of their Prince, sin mortally, and are obliged to a restitution for all the damages done to friends and foes, what account will they who began that bloody war in Ireland against their fellow-subjects give to God for the destruction of so many thousands of men, women and children on both sides; the devastation of that fair land, and the burning and desolation of so many goodly towns and houses? Let the

* Bannes 2 a. 2 æ. q. 40, art. 1, dub. 4. [Dominicus Bannez, a Spaniard, of the Order of St. Dominic, "inter præstantissimos theologos numerandus;" according to the authors of the *Scriptores Ord. Prædicat.* (tom. 2, p. 352, Lutet. Paris, 1721.) Four volumes of his Commentaries upon the first and second parts of the Angelical Doctor were printed at Salamanca, 1584; Venice, 1586; and at Douay, 1615; besides other editions. Bannez died in 1604, and, as Quetif and Echard state, *transiit ad meliora*: thus contradicting or making nothing of Purgatory, when their own favourites are concerned.]

Counsellors of that blind and furious war, (no less damnable than the actors,) reflect upon the heavy judgment which hangs over them for it, and let N. N. consider better what he writes. Let him not be so easily wrought upon by hot-headed and shallow-brained informers, as to deliver in public for a doctrine of Divines, what the Divines whom he names condemn and detest; as all men of sense and conscience must needs do. For certainly, to say that subjects may go to war without the consent of their Prince, let who will say it, is a perverse and seditious doctrine, destructive to Loyalty and public peace—a fierce error often practised in Ireland,* to the great injury of it, and which therefore, ought to be reprehended sharply, rather than be renewed or countenanced by good teachers.

But our antagonist tells us he is speaking of a defensive war, and brings a heap of testimonies to prove such a war to be lawful, and to declare how far it may extend. But the main point is, what he supposes, without giving a sufficient proof of it, that the engagement of the party he pleads for, was only defensive. He allows that the Irish were the first aggressors; *but this objection*, says he, *is easily answered; as thus:—It is a common doctrine of the Divines, that it is lawful to prevent an evil that cannot otherwise be avoided than by preventing it.* E. g. *I see you take your pistol in your hand, cocking it to shoot at me; in that case it is lawful for me to discharge my pistol and kill you, otherwise I should be killed by you.* And he relates several testimonies of Tanner, Becan, and others, to prove such a prevention to be lawful. But to evince that to have heen the case of the Irish at the beginning of those tumults, (this being the point wherein the consistency and whole strength of his argument was to appear) it is strange what jejune and weak stuff he brings up. *They were bolted up in an Island*, says he; *there was no door open for them, but by preventing the Presbyterians' bloody design; if this they had not done there had been an end of them all.*† Here I see words, but no substance or ground upon which to build a serious conclusion to his purpose. What bloody designs were those he speaks of? how far discovered? how near

* See William Watson's testimony, given in *Baxter's Key for Catholics*, Edit. 1839, p. 367 Note.

† *The Bleeding Iphigenia.*

at hand to be executed? If he knew it, why does he not declare it? being the very foundation of his defence, and precisely necessary to make his allegations appear pertinent. What pistols were put to the breasts of those who began in the north? What cannons were charged, what armies were marching against them; so as without killing those who lived peaceably about them, they could not save their own lives? Yet if they were not in such a strait as this, the testimonies of Divines which you allege are misapplied by you, and come very short of proving what you pretend; as appears by the example which you relate of one cocking his pistol to shoot at *you;* and to prevent him you shoot first at him.

I have heard of some report spread among the Irish,* of a design of a Massacre of them; and that this report was represented to the State by some Lords of the Pale about Dublin, who being called to assist at the Council, in order to consult with them, concerning the condition wherein the kingdom then was, and the safety of it; they answered, that having received advertisement, that a member of the Council had uttered at the Council-board some speeches tending to execute upon those of their Religion a general Massacre, they could not wait on their Lordships, but rather must stand upon their guard till they were secure from peril. Thus I find it written by a credible historian† of those times, who adds, that to this letter written by those Lords to the Council of the 7th of December, 1641, the State gave answer by Proclamation, with all satisfaction to the Lords, with a view to remove all misunderstandings, and clear the member of the Council aspersed, from any such pretended speeches, or any intention thereto, and to request the attendance of the Lords at the board on the seventeenth day after. But all this it seems was not sufficient to free them from their apprehension of danger.

Now, if this passed so indeed, to say that a mere apprehension of danger from our neighbour without any certainty of it, is a sufficient warrant to make war against him, if it regard a Com-

* Some of the tales by which the unhappy Irish were inflamed, through the Popish Priesthood, to join in the Massacre of 1641, are mentioned in Dr. O'Conor's *Historical Address*, pt. 2, pp. 260, 1; and in the Protestant Journal for 1832, p. 632.

† Sanderson *in the History of King Charles I.* ad ann. 1641, p. 451.

munity; or to kill him, if an individual (as our opponent seems to intend) is a doctrine of dreadful consequences both to societies and particular persons. It is but too much experienced, how rash and heady a thing the apprehension of men is, how ready are false reports to fly; and if an apprehension or report without certain ground be taken for a sufficient cause to kill a man, or to wage war, who can have security of his life, or how long shall peace and quiet last among us?

In this discourse I do not intend to favour either of the parties mentioned in that debate handled by N. N. I profess not to be a competent judge of those quarrels; I only attend to the pernicious doctrines which I see assumed, in order to maintain the interest of one side, with intention to rebuke the same as universally false, and destructive to the public peace and quiet. Neither in truth can I understand which of both parties may fear more prejudice from the doctrine that I am reprehending. I see complaints and jealousies upon both sides; which of both has more reason for it, as I am not able to determine, so I do conceive that N. N. (as also any other) may be uncertain to which of the parties he is preparing ruin, by allowing subjects upon suspicion of danger from their fellow-subjects, to go to war with them, without the consent of their Prince. If both complain and fear, why may not either party, as well as the other, fall upon his fellow-subjects, when opportunity will assist him, in conformity with that doctrine?

Truly I cannot but wonder how any one living under a Prince or State which has several Kingdoms, Provinces, or Societies to govern, should dare to publish so pernicious a doctrine as this I am reprehending. If those of Navarre and Arragon, of Sicily and Sardinia, of Brabant and Flanders, should renew old quarrels, or stir up new ones, and run to war about them, without the consent of their common Prince, how long would the King of Spain be able to preserve peace in his dominions? If his Ministers took notice of this doctrine, and the consequences of it, certainly they would have all books containing it banished out of their territories.

But all this is sanctified in N. N's. view, by telling us that the war was for *Religion!* and since the law of God and nature permits one man to kill another who pretends to take away his

life; with the same, or more reason, he may kill one who means to take away his Religion, which ought to be more precious and dear to him than his life. Good God! whither has the perverseness of men arrived, to canonize murders and the most barbarous cruelties with the sacred name of *Religion*? This language came not from heaven. Neither Christ, nor any of his Apostles ever taught it; the Church, instructed by them, did not practise it. *Lactantius* sets before us the maxims and practice of Christians in those times by these noble words—*Defendenda Religio est non occidendo sed moriendo, non sævitia sed patientia, non scelere sed fide—Religion is to be defended, not by killing, but by dying for it; not by cruelty, but by patience; not by mischief, but by faith.* Thus St. Peter and St. Paul, and the rest of the Apostles; thus did the brave Theban Legion* defend their Religion, though able to defend it with the sword (as is testified by Tertullian) if the spirit and doctrine of Christ, then steering the Church, had permitted it.

A particular person, in order to save his life, say you, may kill, by way of prevention, an unjust aggressor who pretends to take it from him. To this purpose you quote Divines and Civilians, and from thence you infer two consequences; the *first*, that likewise, a Community or Society may war against and destroy another Society, from whom it fears a similar destruction: the *second* consequence is, that a private individual or a Society may also, by way of prevention, set upon and kill another suspected of an intention to take their Religion from them.

You abuse foully the doctrine above mentioned of Divines and Civilians, by misapplying it. Both your consequences not only contain a perverse doctrine against right Divinity and Christian discipline, as now declared, but also trespass against the rules of Logic. The former, because it is not so easy to surprise a whole Society largely dispersed, as it is to surprise one particular person. Evidences requisite to qualify a prudent fear, such as may justify

* See Mosheim's *Commentaries on the affairs of the Christians*, translated by Vidal, vol. 3, pp. 190—95. There must be some mistake in Dr. Sall's referring to Tertullian as he flourished A.D. 200, and this Martyrdom is assigned to the year 297. The name of Tertullian occurs repeatedly on the margin of Baronius, under this year, and hence perhaps the mistake arose; or the *Legio Fulminatrix* alluded to in *Tertullian*, Apolog. §. 5, may have been confounded with it.

a preventing onset, may not so easily be found against a Society: the threatening words or purpose of one individual or more, in a Society, afford not so much assurance of the purpose or intention of the whole Society, as the words of an individual may give of his intention. Besides the killing of one person is not so criminal and heinous, nor so much exposed to an oppression of innocents, as the killing and destroying of a whole Society is; therefore it is no lawful consequence—a particular person may kill, by way of prevention, another who, he fears, may kill him, *ergo*, a Society or great party may likewise, by way of prevention, destroy another from whom it fears a similar destruction.

Your *second* consequence above mentioned, that if one man, in order to defend his life, may kill another who intends to take his from him; he may likewise kill him or them who intend to take his Religion from him—this consequence also, I say, besides the perverse doctrine it contains, is a faulty piece of Logic: it is not so easy to take his Religion from a man as his corporal life. Your Religion may not be taken from you by a surprise, or when you are asleep, or against your will, as your corporal life may be. Wherefore the same prevention cannot be necessary or lawful for the preservation of both. Any one who has true Religion in him, due love to God, and a sincere and serious desire for his own happiness, must take the loss of his corporal life for his Religion, to be the greatest gain he can make; it being the greatest security he can have of gaining life and glory everlasting for his soul and body, as our Saviour has declared (Mat. x. 39.) And is it not a desirable exchange to leave a painful, short and wretched life, for a gloriously blessed and everlasting one? Much he has in him of earth and little of the Christian spirit, who would not wish to be dissolved, if he were sure of being, after his dissolution, with Christ. The only reason that can justify a fear to die and part with this miserable life is, the uncertainty of what may be our doom in the other, and the hopes of securing a good one by further living: but when a security is given to pass by death to a life everlasting (as Christ gives to such as die for God and his holy Faith) what Christian consideration can justify a fear to such a death, so far as to kill those who intend to bring us to it?

Truly, N. N. I have so much of kindness and true friendship left in me for you, as makes me sorry, and not a little troubled to

find such pernicious doctrines as these contained in your book. I took you to be a better principled man; and if I had perceived any such errors in your conversation at the time of our acquaintance in Spain, I would have refuted them and shewn my dislike to them, as freely as I do now. I am willing to imagine, that *non ex tuo hæc dicis—it is not your own deliberate sentiment*, but imposed upon you by some of those fiery emissaries of Rome who will not hesitate to go through streams of blood * to extend the Pope's power, and their own earthly advantages with it, under the colour of Catholic Faith. But by what is said hitherto, and will be further confirmed in the discussion following, it will easily appear to the unbiassed reader, that it is no want of true Catholic faith in the Church of England, nor any true zeal for it in the Roman Court, which makes them thus disturb the peace of these kingdoms, and obstinately endeavour the ruin of them.

And if the Irish are not quite given over to the spirit of delusion, they will look upon all bloody suggestions of this kind, as proceeding from him who was the first author of Rebellion in heaven, and upon earth, and *a Murderer from the beginning*,† and they will accordingly reject and detest them, not only for *conscience*‡ (which ought to be the principal motive) but also *for wrath*, remembering the sad effects of God's wrath against them in each one of their several rebellions, whether for Religion or for any other cause.

* French, Bishop of Ferns, both in his *Bleeding Iphigenia*, and in his Epistle to the Bishop of Paris, endeavours to justify or extenuate all the treasons, and perjuries and cruelties of the times. Dr. O'Conor's *Historical Address*, 2, 235.

† Joh. viii. 44.

‡ Rom. xiii. 5.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### *A Conclusion of my Discourse with* N. N.; *with a friendly Admonition to him.*

Sir, if the severe Decree of your Church prohibiting to the common people the reading of controversial writings, does not comprehend *you* also, I hope you will bestow an attentive reading upon this book for our old friendship's sake, but the more so for the love of truth. And if you have not made a firm inflexible resolution of not yielding to any evidences (be they ever so clear) which may justify the way I took, or discover the errors of that in which you are writing, I may venture to hope that by reading this treatise, you shall find that I am not in that deplorable condition by my change which you seem to imagine; that by it I have not forsaken the whole house of God, as you say, but removed to the soundest and safest part of it; that I have not deserted the society of the holy Fathers of the Church, nor am become an associate of Heretics, having come to a Church where I find as much veneration and study of those Fathers, and as much aversion to the Heresies you mention, as ever I saw among you.

And if you read further the Second Part now to follow of this same book, you shall find that I did not forsake the communion of the Roman Church without grave and urgent reasons forcing me to it. Those reasons I have laid open in my first sermon preached at Dublin and printed. Great labour and study has been employed in answering them; yet if you bring impartiality with you, in reading my reply to that answer, you shall find that my reasons alleged still remain in their force; and that the errors which I refuted are farther discovered and made clearer by occasion of the defence made for them.

But if you resolve either not to read my book, or bring to the reading of it a firm purpose of not yielding to any reason that may oppose those sentiments with which you are prepossessed,

then my labour is lost as to you; but I hope not so as to others more rationally disposed. The word of God is a grain of seed, and brings forth its fruit in time differently, according to the different disposition of the subjects it meets with. But especially I hope that my endeavours will avail me with God, in whose presence I write with sincerity, what I understand to be conformable to his holy word and will; and with a constant desire in all these scrutinies to satisfy my own conscience principally of the rectitude of the course taken, and to help others also to the knowledge of the same truth.

When St. Paul was brought before King Agrippa, and the Governor of Judea, Porcius Festus, to give account of himself and his Religion, he gave it so fully, that Agrippa said, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.* To which the great Apostle replied, *I would to God that not only thou, but all that hear me, were such as I am, except these bonds.* Acts xxvi. 29. If you read with candour and attention, the account which I have given of my resolution, and of the Religion which I embraced, I am persuaded (whatsoever your outward expression may be) it will work upon your mind a motion like that of Agrippa. And if you ask whether I would have you act as I did in this point, I say freely (as St. Paul said to Agrippa) that I would to God that both you and your brethren should take the same resolution; but that it may be with less difficulty and reluctancy than I had, and with less crosses and dangers for adopting it.

You tell me I am old; and I have many reasons to believe it by my long continued infirmity of body; but I remember the time when you called me a young man, and yourself an old man. I then being now old, you must be very old;* and therefore both of us ought to measure our resolutions and doctrine by the Rules of Religion, and the interests of Eternity, rather than by those of earthly policy and temporal advantages; in which we can have but a little share and a shorter enjoyment. How then come you to speak to me of the loss of friends, and of infamy obtained by my change? If it has been for the best in the presence of God

* On page 252 of the *Doleful Fall*, edit. 1749, Dr. French says—"I count two years above 70; and on the last page he states that the book was finished the 12th of March, 1675.

(and I am certainly persuaded it was) then I have attained by it the grace and favour of God, and given joy to his angels; and this applause is to be preferred before that of the earthly friends of which you speak. I am much afraid that the fear of temporal shame and losses is so strong with you, and many others of your party, as to keep you from following truth, and from searching after it with due care; I found it to be so in myself—I confess my weakness herein with sorrow, humbly craving pardon of God for it. The fear of shame and loss among men, more than any superior consideration, caused me to struggle a long time against the inward callings of God from my former errors, and made me use all means possible to silence the cries of conscience; but the more I laboured and studied to allay them, the more force they acquired; and when I saw clearly by a strict enquiry that they were indeed from God, I yielded to them, notwithstanding my natural reluctancies, and the heap of shames, crosses, and dangers which I saw in the way; *looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame,* Heb. xii. 2.

In the life and doctrine of Christ we shall find lessons of this kind, but never in the dictates of nature. How would you imagine it should be a natural inclination, that a man in his declining age should change a state of quiet, honour, and plenty of all things necessary for human life, for another of troubles, crosses, affronts, no certainty of a competent livelihood, and a certain and continual danger of losing his life! This was my condition on my change of Religion, and I may better declare it to you than to many others. You can remember in what degree of honour, applause and advantage I was, where you knew me, plentifully assisted with all things necessary, without any care or trouble in procuring them. Of temporal blessings I could desire no more. Neither would I at any time, though I had a choice of fortune given to me.

To this condition I might at that time have returned, with some special assurances of good reception, when I came over to the Protestant Church, without any bargain made, or promise of a livelihood; relying solely upon Divine Providence, which is never wanting to such as truly confide in it; and with certain knowledge that I was to suffer crosses, calumnies, curses, affronts,

false testimonies, and conspiracies against my life and credit; of all which I found a plentiful store as I expected: and you tell me that my change was a work of nature, not of grace!—one of your very ill-grounded assertions. I pray you consult the case with your own natural inclination and be ingenuous. Do but imagine yourself a little while making such a change as I did, and undergoing on account of it similar danger and losses, (as probably you should, if the case might happen;) certain I am that your nature would represent to you such horrors in the change, that if all the angels in heaven came down, furnished with the most Divine reasons to persuade you to it, you would take them all for so many devils, and their reasons for absolute madness.

Thus much I can tell you of your own nature; but what grace may work upon you, God the author of it only can tell. And whilst you do not feel this motion upon you so strong as to forsake errors (though known) upon the hard terms now mentioned, spare I pray your ill-grounded and severe censures against others, whom God moves to undergo those difficulties for the truth's sake. Moderate your inconsiderate zeal; and if you will govern it well, read dispassionately what is written here and is to follow in this book: whereby you shall perceive how far mistaken you are in many things about yourself and others. And whereas you acknowledge yourself to be near the end of this mortal life (as a man of your age must needs be) leave to your friends and brethren that legacy, which your good Saviour Jesus left, and with repeated earnestness commended to his disciples, saying, *Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you.** Endeavour first to make peace with God, by due acknowledgment and repentance of your sins and errors; and then endeavour to sow peace in the hearts of your hearers. Make it your business to quench, rather than to blow up the fire of dissensions and animosities. Have a real pity for your poor country, bleeding and groaning under wounds received in barbarous wars and broils stirred up by blind, fiery zealots. Pour into those wounds the sweet oil of peace. Impress upon the people, by all the means *you* may, charity with their neighbours and loyalty to their sovereign. Thus will they recover

* John xiv. 27.

those blessings, of which the bitter spirit of hatred, envy, revenge, and ambition, have robbed them in former times; and thus will you, and other inspirers of peace and charity, compass that great blessing reserved for *Peace-makers*, that *they shall be called the children of God.** And *now the God of peace be with you,*† whilst I turn my face to a Scold, and afterwards to a Sophister, with a view to vindicate Truth from the assaults of both.

* Matt. v. 9. † Rom. xv. 33.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*A Check to* I. E.'s *scandalous Libel, and a Vindication of the Church of* England, *from his slanderous and false report of it.*

All who saw *I. E.'s* scolding Libel, agree in thinking that it deserves no answer; but none will deny that it deserves a check. And what check can be so sensible to the author (if he has any sense in him) as to lay before his eyes a piece of his own composition.*

St. Jerom in the beginning of his book against *Jovinian*, in order to render the man ridiculous, produces a parcel of his frantic phrases, and cries at them with his usual and pointed eloquence, *Rogo quæ sunt hæc portenta verborum, quod descriptionis dedecus? Nonne vel per febrem somniare eum putes, vel areptum morbo phrenetico Hippocratis vinculis alligandum*†— i.e., *Tell me I pray you what monstrous words are those, what shameful contexture of speech? Would you not suppose the man to be dreaming in a fever, or raving in a phrensy, needing to be put into the shackles of Hippocrates?* The words of *Jovinian* related by St. Jerom are indeed ridiculous and absurd; but if we compare them with those of our Libeller, *I. E.*, we shall find this latter to have outdone *Jovinian* by very great odds. He says he will vindicate the Roman Church, *from the most mysterious and foul aspersions and railings of the ignorant, overweening, and overbiassed sciolist Sectaries* (not to mention some words thereabout worse than ridiculous); *he will seasonably control and give a check to the disingenuousness, spiteful malice, venom, and brawny-faced impudence of that renowned wight,*

* "There is no hope of silencing scolds; but whether this *endeavour* doth not force their *own hands* to lay a *padlock* upon their *own lips*, so that they can never open more without first *crying shame upon themselves*, is left to those to judge, who will be at the pains of hearing fairly." Preface to *The Man of Sin*, 4to., London, 1677, a rare Exhibition of *the Beast*.

† Jer. lib. 1. *advers. Jovinianum*, cap. 1.

*vile Apostate, and professed enemy to Christ, Andrew Sall, to dash back all his shameless affronts, and thundering, bawling strains of profound and wonderful nonsense*, &c. He would not have men to trust the conduct of such *Mountebanks, and runagate vagrant Apostates.*

If St. Jerom had ever seen this rich piece of Rhetoric, would he not have cried out—*Rogo quæ sunt hæc portenta verborum, quod descriptionis dedecus?* Certainly when the man was ranting about *shallow Mountebanks, imposters, and runagate vagrant Apostates,* who *could bear no fruit whilst united to the stock,* he had his imagination placed upon some of those his running Friars, who, in their travels of a year or two, will view *London, Brussels, Prague, Cracow, Stockholme, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Florence, Jerusalem, Grand Cairo;* and more Courts or places of fame (if to be found,) and will return as wise as they went, though commonly worse loaded with fables, and furnished with the most corrupt customs of all the places which they ran over. To men of this kind his description of *runagate, vagrant, shallow Mountebanks*, &c. may seem more suitable than to one who, in twenty-six years during his residency in Spain, never went out of the Province of Castile where he entered first, nor took so much liberty as to view Madrid, or the famous Escurial not far from him, when others made long journeys to see them; having spent the aforesaid twenty-six years thus (as is known to many)—two years, retired, in the exercise of devotion; seven years in learning Philosophy and Divinity, and the seventeen remaining in public teaching without intermission; *first, Humanity*—Poetry, Oratory, History, Cosmography—in the Colleges of Numancia and Villagarcia; then Philosophy, Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, &c., in the College of Pamplona; and *Divinity*—Scholastic, Moral, and Polemic or Controversial in the Colleges of Pamplona, Palencia, Tudela and Salamanca; joining with these functions of continual teaching (which in those parts are exceedingly laborious) the practice of very frequent preaching, together with a constant and eager study of Holy Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and Ecclesiastical History; in which kind of study I had always my chief delight, when duty and the employments enjoined upon me, forced me to the study of those other faculties. And is this to be a vagrant person, who could bear no

fruit united to the stock? What fruit would the man have me bear?

But what if we refer him to himself a few pages after,* asserting (still extravagantly) that *before* I was *Vir Apostolicus, a most resplendent star in the firmament of the true Church*, &c.; but *now* plunged into all the contrary vices; and exclaiming, *Quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus? How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed?* † Truly I must return the same question upon him—How came this change, or how came he to know it? For I feel no other change in me but for the better; to a quiet of conscience and a full persuasion that I am in the right way of worshipping God. But I find in his own words an answer to all: He says, I was before *Vir Apostolicus*, now *Apostata vilis dictus—a vile Apostate*, not really, but *called so:* And by whom? By a party which I prove by demonstrative reasons (not railing at random as *I. E.)* to have apostatized from the true faith and doctrine of Christ in several points; as has been evidenced both in my former printed discourse, and shall be in the second part of this treatise at large. Wherefore to be called Apostate by them, is to me the same as if I were called a thief or highway robber, by one who is such himself; I knowing myself to be an alien from those practices; or, as if I were called an Infidel, by a *Turk* or *Pagan*. If I was induced to make a blind vow of blind obedience to the Pope of Rome and his Ministers, I made a former vow of religious obedience to God and his holy laws in my Baptism; and if I find that the latter vow made to the Pope is not consistent with the compliance of the former made to God (as I found it clearly not to be so), then must I stand to my former vow made to God, and rescind the latter made to the Pope.

If this Libeller had been contented to rail at me, his guilt would have been less; but he extends his insolent and foul language to the whole Protestant Church, belching out streams against it, (I know not which more) of brutish ignorance, or hellish malice, in most notorious calumnies. *You deserted a Church*, says he,‡ *in which only is Faith, Religion*,§ *Priests*,

* Page 26. † Lament IV. 1. ‡ Page 30.

§ "Sir, I have observed throughout this Answer to your Reply, how falsely, fallaciously, and precariously you arrogate the glorious titles of *the Church, the*

*Sacrifice, Altars, Sacraments, and real remission not only of original sin, but also of actual mortal sins; all which is excluded and exploded and quite abolished by your Protestant Sect.* And all this he babbles out boldly, without giving one word of reason for all, or any part of it. But I have proved by clear demonstrative reasons, from the beginning of this Treatise, that in the Protestant Church we have, and do profess, the same true Catholic Faith and Religion which Jesus Christ and his Apostles taught, and was professed by the Church first called Catholic; and that we have a right Hierarchy, and due Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and therefore a due administration of Sacraments and remission of sins both original by Baptism, and actual by contrition, and also by Absolution upon Confession not only allowed, but commended and enjoined to our people, and practised by many—if neglected by others, it is their fault, not that of our Church; and of the horror which some have to this practice, we may well affirm your Church to be the cause by its intolerable tyranny over consciences, as well in the reservation of cases to be absolved only by Prelates, or by the Pope, as in the difficulties daily added respecting the mode of Confessions and circumstances to be declared in them; which deters many from even the right use of Confession, and is thought to be the occasion of more loss than gain of souls among you.

He tells me,* that *I know in my conscience that the Protestant Sect doth place all happiness in the pleasures, honours, liberty, and contentments of the body; and obstructs all means and* ways to Virtue, to Sanctity, Piety, Mortification, &c., and doth *stifle the fear of a living and dreadful God;* and all this likewise he asserts without any proof of it. Was there ever seen a more desperate insolency? Thou false prophet, who pretendest

*Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church,* and *the One Holy Catholic Church,* &c. to your Church, i.e., to the Church of *Rome,* and those Churches which communicate with her, exclusively of all others. So all your English writers that I have read, do; contracting the Catholic Church to the *Roman* Church and communion, which for that reason they call the *Roman Catholic* Church—quite contrary to the notion of the *Catholic Church,* which the ancient writers and Councils have transmitted to us."—*Letters between Dr. G. Hickes and a Popish Priest upon a young Gentlewoman's departing from the Church of England to that of Rome.* (London, 1705). p. 175.

* Page 63.

to dive into the interior of my conscience, known only to God and myself!—I will declare to the glory of God and the edification of the Christian people, miserably deluded by such slaves of fury and of lies, what I know in my conscience to be true—that in the Protestant Church I saw more practice of solid virtue, piety and devotion, and of the fear of God; more apt means used to acquire those virtues (both by the doctrine of our Church, and by the ordinances of our State) than ever I saw among the Romanists.

Since my coming to the Protestant Church, my constant habitation has been in Trinity College of Dublin, where I see more practice of sobriety, devotion, and piety, than ever I saw in a College of so many young men on the Romish side. Three times a day they all go to prayers to the Chapel, at six in the morning, ten at noon, and four in the evening, with admirable reverence and attention; their Prayers most grave and pious for all purposes, and for all sorts of persons, they say kneeling; the Psalms standing; and the sacred Lectures they hear sitting reverently and bareheaded, with a respect due to the lessons used by them, sacred indeed, as taken out of those blessed fountains of living waters of the Old and New Testaments, not out of the broken cisterns of Romantic Legends; all being read in a voice audible, and language intelligible, and thereby suitable to the edification and instruction of all the people present.

The same order and style I see observed in the Palaces of Princes and Prelates, and in the houses of gentlemen and godly persons, all the family being called to pray together in the chapel or other decent room of the house, after the manner now described. When I come to the Royal Castle or Palace of Dublin, there I see the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (to whom a judicious French writer* gives the chief place among all Viceroys of Europe) with all his flourishing family, and many Nobles attending on his Excellency, break off discourses and business, though weighty and serious, and answer the sound of a Bell calling upon all at set hours to prayers in the Chapel, at which they assist with singular piety and gravity. If I look at the people flocking to

* George Tournier in *Geograph.* lib. 1, "cujus præcipua inter omnes, qui in Europa sunt Pro reges, eminet authoritas."

their public Churches on holy days, the very silence and modesty of their carriage in the streets gives me a testimony of their inward good disposition; and when they are come to the Church, each one retires to his respective seat, all being decently severed to avoid confusion and disorders. Divine office is performed in a most grave and decent manner, all fitted to the benefit and spiritual food of souls, so as if any Hymn or Psalm be sung, with more exquisite music, the Chanter or some other of the Choir informs the people what Psalm or verse is to be sung, that seeing it in their books they may be furnished with the sense, and that thereby the music may work better on their minds to devotion; so great a care is taken, that in all we pay to God *rationabile obsequium—a rational service* with sense and feeling of what we do, may be rendered.

What if I consider the admirable devotion and reverence wherewith they go to receive the sacred Communion, far greater than ever I saw among Papists, though pretending to believe something more (they knew not themselves what) about the presence of our Saviour in that Sacrament, than Protestants do. A spectacle of this kind, certainly grateful to God and to his angels, which I saw in Christ's Church in Dublin on Resurrection Sunday last year, adheres still in my memory with joy. The most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of Ireland, having performed the Communion Office with singular decency and good order, he himself first reverently took the sacred Communion and gave it to the Minister of the Altar, then to the Lord Lieutenant, to the Peers and the Royal Council, and to a numerous concourse; all receiving it with singular devotion; having for associates in giving it the most Reverend the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Meath, the chief of the Bishops of Ireland: after the Metropolitans and three Dignitaries of the Church, there were Doctors in Divinity to administer the Cup, each one making a godly brief exhortation to the receiver for a due receiving of it; the Lord Archbishop having read at the Communion table a grave and pious Homily, exhorting to a right preparation for receiving that venerable Sacrament, as is usually done in all Churches upon such an occasion.

Go now, Mr. *J. E.*, and compare these practices of piety and

devotion, with your number of *Ave Marias*, gabbled over beads of stick or glass, sitting or walking, and mixed with sundry dialogues to the people about you; with your Mass mumbled over in haste, and the people thronging to have a sight of the Priest, and a touch of the holy water, without understanding a word of what is being said. This is your ordinary course of devotion and spiritual assistance given to your people (if some particular person will not provide otherwise for themselves.) And yet you speak to me of your *Deiform intentions, of ravishing devotions*, &c.! Truly I saw much of those devotions among your Extatics, and in them much of delusion, cheat, and vanity; I wish I may never see more of them.

What shall I say of the Preaching used in the Protestant Church truly Apostolic and godly, all delivering *doctrinam sanam et irreprehensibilem—sound and blameless doctrine.* I may say with truth, that I never saw a Protestant Preacher yet, delivering a sermon which was indecent or unbecoming that place: not so with you. There, would I hear frequently torrents of nonsense, madness, and blasphemies poured out. One, with a view to magnify his Order, will make his Friar a Cherubim; another to out-go him will make *his* a Seraphim; and another, thinking *that* but a small purchase, will set up his saint higher than Jesus Christ and the holy Trinity: with other desperate essays, like those which I produced above, Chapter XXVI. This lofty style certainly you missed in me, when you tell your reader, that though I was a Professor of Divinity, yet not of any *solid intensive learning;* and in all the Doctors of the Protestant Church, when you style them *ignorant Sciolists* * The good Lord, who knows them and knows you (as any may by your goodly book) what will he judge of your presumption?

Finally, will you tell me, what purchase did you expect to make by your defamatory Libel? To get the credit of an eminent scold? I confess you deserve it, and the highest chair appointed for persons of that quality. And as for myself, you have confirmed me in the esteem of the election that I made, and in the acknowledgement of the great mercy of God, in drawing me out of a congregation where the spirit of fury and untruth,

* Page 56; in Epist. dedicat.

animating all your libel, is countenanced. If we are to believe you (and shall we?) you had the boldness to present it to a most illustrious person, whom I forbear to name for very reverence, fearing an offence even in mentioning that so dirty a piece of paper should be put into such hands. You tell us moreover, that it was published by the approbation of your superiors. If it be so, certainly *God has turned the counsel of your Ahithophels into foolishness.* Let any man who has not lost his wits judge, whether it be tolerable, that men who profess to be poor and humble should speak so scornfully and contemptuously of so great and illustrious a part of Christianity, as we have seen the Protestant Church to be: Whether it be prudence in persons complaining that they are persecuted for their Religion, and under the lash of a Protestant Government, to crow and insult over their masters, with barbarous and abusive language, and most gross and manifest calumnies! Mr. *I. E.* knows that in two visits which he was pleased to bestow upon me, after he had honoured me with his famous Libel, at the same time excusing the harsh language of it, I told him my discontent was not for any injury done to me, but for the prejudice that I conceived such indiscreet writings would bring upon his poor countrymen and mine of the Romish communion; of whose welfare I could not omit to be solicitous, and grieve for the harm that they have received often by means of blind zealots.

Truly I was much pleased with the knowledge that he seemed to have of my temper, very alien from spite or malice; and of the spirit of the Protestant Church, in coming so freely to me, after such grievous affronts published by him against both. I do admire and honour the singular patience and Christian modesty of the *English* Government, in not being so severe as Romanists are *(where they can command)* in punishing such proceedings; and if Mr. *I. E.* and his Council were wise, they would rather honour than abuse this modesty of their Masters.

When I consider the different procedure of the Protestant Church, and of the Romish, with their deserters, I am strongly confirmed in the choice which I have made. If any person departs from the Protestant Church to the Romish, they neither curse nor rail, nor plot against his life or credit; they only commiserate his fall, and pray for him, that God may convert

him. Herein appears the spirit of Christ—his meekness and charity. But when any one leaves the Romish Church for the Protestant, he may be sure to have curses, calumnies, affronts, conspiracies against his life and reputation follow him while he lives. A strong point of policy, apt indeed to terrify weak minds, so that they dare not assert their quarrel; but it is a policy dictated not by that *wisdom which is from above, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy*, &c., James iii. 17; but from that other called by the same Apostle (verse 15.) *earthly, sensual, devilish.* Learned, grave, and civil discussions about Religion, such as those of Isaac *Casaubon* with Cardinal *Perron* and *Fronto Ducæus;** of *Peter Wading* with *Simon Episcopius*† and the

* The letters of Casaubon addressed to Fronto Le Duc, and to Cardinal du Perron, respectively, both appear in *Is. Casauboni Epistolæ*, (Roter. 1709.) pp. 385—426; and pp. 489—505. The latter portion of Casaubon's life, when this letter was written, was much embittered both by the unfounded and contradictory reports which were circulated against his Protestantism, and by the unceasing set which was made to trap him into Popery; and then, when these attempts did not succeed, by all kinds of impediments devised to debar him, if possible, from access to books; for Rome dreaded his pen. Even when he had obtained admission to King James's Library, the Jesuits laboured with all their might to spoil his enjoyment of it. "Quando fidei meæ regia Bibliotheca est commissa, quid illi (Jesuitæ) commenti non sunt, ut ne hoc fieret? Possem hic μακρὰν Ιλιάδα σκαιωριῶν contexere, quas ne videar ad animum unquam revocasse, missas facio. Possem doctissimi cujusdam viri, et inter Jesuitas suos non obscuri, epistolam proferre, quâ de nonnullis eorum in Germania et Belgio odiis Vaticinianis, gratis susceptis et variis consiliis adversus meam existimationem initis, ante annos quatuor, certior fiebam." *Exercitat.* 1 *ad apparat. Baronii annall.* p. 33, Francof. 1615. Yet these worthies may have succeeded in some measure, for we have little doubt that the distant treatment, which the English scholars of the day, with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy, began to exhibit towards Casaubon, arose from the practised and well-directed mendacity of the Loyolists; see the *Life* prefixed to *Casaub. Epistolæ*, Roterod. 1709, pp. 41, 42. 57.

The preceding remarks seem called for, in order to correct (if they may so avail) the ideas, which Mr. Hallam's representation of Casaubon's views would tend to generate. His unsettledness was, we doubt not, oftentimes merely Epistolary, and as to the reports spread about him, we know *their* origin—even the *patrons* of calumny.

† The Correspondence between Episcopius and Peter Wading is given in *Episcopii Opera Theolog.* pt. 2. pp. 97—147; the Rule of faith, and the use of Images, being the main subjects in debate. Episcopius having been compelled to vacate his situation as Professor of Theology at Leyden, retired to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, where he soon made the acquaintance of Mr. Wading, Professor of Theology, Poetry, &c., at Louvain, who very readily entered upon Controversial topics, and sought with the accustomed and well-timed alacrity of

like, I shall always honour, and willingly entertain; but with scolds I do not fancy spending my time. And thus I leave you to God (Mr. I. E.) to direct you, while I enter the lists with another pretending to subtilty in reasoning the case with me; which is to form the *Second Part* of this book.

his Order, to proselyte Episcopius to the Church of Rome. "Quod primo illo congressu fecisse non contentus, postea etiam iteratis vicibus continuavit; argutiis et sophismatibus suis, ut conjicere est, sperans Episcopii *(a religionis suæ sociis male habiti)* constantiam expugnare, atque sic eum in castra sua pertrahere. Sed cum in familiaribus colloquiis res ipsi ex voto non successisset, mutatâ velificatione se ad scribendum contulit, et diversis temporibus duas ad eum satis prolixas Epistolas misit: quibus *Episcopius* responsum, quod nunc tibi communicamus, paulo post opposuit." The *Preface* of Courcelles to this portion of the works of Episcopius.

Peter Wading was an Irishman born, a native of Waterford, "vir in omni genere scientiarum præstans." He spent the greatest part of his life at Louvain and Prague, and at last died at Grätz in 1644; and (as the *Bibliotheca. Scrip. Soc. Jesu* states, p. 704.) "ad vitam transiit sempiternam"—nothing about Purgatory, for which others have to pay! &c. &c.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

# TRUE

# CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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## THE SECOND PART.

# TRUE

# CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC FAITH

MAINTAINED IN THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART II.

BEING

A SURVEY OF MR. *J. E.'s* BOOK, ENTITLED, "THE UNERRING UNERRABLE CHURCH."*

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## CHAPTER I.

### *An Anatomy of Mr.* I. S.'s *genius and drifts, appearing in his Dedicatory Epistle to my Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

THE dissections of Anatomy discover imperfections and diseases in the vitals, and other exterior parts of the body, which a fair skin or cunning dress hides from the eyes of a common beholder. In like manner a scholastic examination will lay open the faults and corruptions both in the essential and ornamental parts of a discourse, which upon a transient view appear plausible and commendable. Unto a mind clouded with passion and prejudice, and the favour of an espoused, or the dislikes of an adverse party, the writing of Mr. *I. S.* may appear without blemish or fault; but an incision being made, the flesh and the skin being cut off, it will be found void of truth in the proposals, of force and form in the argumentation, sincerity in the design, and lastly of modesty

* *The unerring and unerrable Church; or an Answer to a Sermon preached by Mr. Andrew Sall, formerly a Jesuit and now a Minister of the Protestant Church.* The initials *I. S.* are added tothe Dedication to the Earl of Essex, the then Lord Lieutenant. This is the same book as the one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, catalogued and labelled "*Church Infallible, against Andrew Sall.*" It bears date 1675.

and ingenuousness in the style and terms; which are the several requisites that can render a writing in any degree worth the reading.

This kind of Anatomy I will now take in hand, and by no other art than plain incision, shall with truth and perspicuity lay open the fallacies and gross errors of the beforementioned Author, who delivers boldly his judgment upon what he does not understand; or, if he were not really ignorant, yet delivers insincerely, and misrepresents those things of which he treats; all which I shall demonstrate in the following Chapters.

After the several attacks made by *I. E.*, *N. N.*, and others upon my small book, upon myself, and the Church of *England*, comes up confidently to complete the victory Mr. *I. S.*,* as Scipio Africanus to the siege of Numantia, with a view to amend the errors of the preceding warriors.† And in order to appear a *Scipio* indeed in his present adventure, he promises himself so to beset and straighten us, as to make us burn ourselves, as the Numantines did, thinking thereby to prevent their falling into the hands of the Roman Conqueror.

To compass this magnificent design, he proposes to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, my good Lord and Patron, in the Dedicatory Epistle of his book to his Excellency, that I should be burned for a crime which he calls a Blasphemy, wherein all the learned men of the Church of England are involved with me, viz., for saying that the Roman Church, as it now stands, is not a secure way to salvation. And the executioner of this severe sentence passed upon us by Mr. *I. S.* must not be the Inquisitor of *Rome* or of *Spain*, but our own King's Prime Minister and Lieutenant in the Kingdom of *Ireland!*

* *I. S.*—"John Sergeant, an English Priest of the Secular Clergy." Peter Walsh's *History of the Irish Remonstrance*, pt. 2 of the first treatise, p. 737.

John Sergeant (*alias* Smith, *alias* Holland) was born in Lincolnshire, and admitted Student of St. John's College Cambridge in 1637. He was a very prolific writer, and what is remarkable, though so zealous in fixing, we might perhaps say, hammering, correct notions into others, himself fell under censure for heterodox doctrine. He died, as Dod writes, "with his pen in his hand an. 1707, aged 86." *Church History of England*, vol. 3, p. 472, edit. 1742. Some of his writings are highly valued by his Church, chiefly, no doubt for the faults which Bp. Stillingfleet and Dr. Sall found in them, but which his Patrons consider his excellencies.

† See Florus, lib. 2, c. 18.

He allows that I have so much wit, as to know that I could not justify my separation from the Church of Rome, if I hoped to be saved in it; whereas believing I may, to forsake it were then a formal Schism; thus much of wit he doth very injuriously deny to all other learned Protestants, saying, that all allow the Roman Church to be a secure way to salvation, which is to say that they are all confessedly Schismatics.

The inference is but too clear from his Positions, confusedly delivered, if thus ordered—All men who separate from the Roman Church, knowing and allowing it to be a safe way to salvation, are formally and confessedly Schismatics; all learned men of the Church of England do acknowledge and allow the Church of Rome to be a safe way to salvation; therefore all of them are confessedly and formally Schismatics. This Thesis Mr. *I. S.* presents to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, hoping to win his favour.

To clear the ground of all this discourse, and show how bold and blind was the attempt of Mr. *I. S.'s* charging me with Blasphemy, observe the occasion given to him for it, that in the page 226 of my book (according to the first edition* of it at Dublin) when rebuking their ordinary vaunt wherewith they delude the simple, saying that Protestants allow Papists may be saved, but Papists do not allow that Protestants may be saved, &c.—I delivered these words following:—*But in neither case do they assert the truth; for no learned Protestant does allow the Popish Religion in general and absolutely speaking, to be a secure way to salvation; for all agree in affirming that many of their tenets and practices are inconsistent with salvation, though ignorance may haply excuse many of the simple sort, but not such as know their error, or with due care and enquiry may know it. On the other side,* &c.

This has nettled the poor man to rage. Perhaps he found himself to be of those who know, or, with due enquiry, *may* know the damnable errors of the *Roman* Church. Now I desire the judicious reader to consider, with what propriety of terms Mr. *I. S.* calls it a Blasphemy in me, to relate this sentiment of learned Protestants. Though I were mistaken, to call such a mistake *Blasphemy*, is extravagant language.

* Where does this edition exist now?

Three kinds of Blasphemy I find mentioned by Aquinas and other Schoolmen:—

1. To appropriate to God something unbeseeming.
2. To deprive him of a perfection due to him.
3. To attribute to a creature any of God's properties.

To which of these classes will Mr. *I. S.* reduce my mistake, if what I relate of learned Protestants be not *so?* That one of those women who sit in the Market-places selling roots, should call it a Blasphemy in another of her trade to say that her turnips came out of Flanders, not being so, may excite laughter; but that a man pretending to learning, and a disputant in Divinity should ramble on at this rate, I confess plainly seems to me intolerable; and it is a sad task in having to dispute with a person of so irregular a style.

But if what I related of learned Protestants be so indeed, which way comes it to be a Blasphemy to tell truth? Now in order to know whether it be so, let any one who ever heard learned Protestants deliver their opinion upon that subject, or ever read their writings, say whether he knew any of them affirm, that the Popish Religion in general, and absolutely speaking, is a sure way to salvation; or whether they could say it in accordance with their assertions, ever accusing the Church of *Rome* of Idolatry, Superstition, Impiety, &c.—crimes certainly inconsistent with salvation, if ignorance did not excuse, or penitence heal the malady. The testimony of learned Chillingworth,* well versed in the doctrine of both parties, may serve for many to this purpose, who, relating that *Franciscus a Sancta Clara*, and the Jesuit his antagonist, among other learned Romanists, affirm that ignorance and repentance may excuse a Protestant from damnation (he dying in his error) adds these words—*And this is all the charity which by your own confession also the most favourable Protestants allow to Papists.* Here we have witnesses on both sides affirming, that Protestants do not allow salvation to Papists, if ignorance or repentance will not protect them; how then comes it to be so great a Paradox in me to state that they do? a greater Paradox certainly to call it Blasphemy to tell it.

* Chillingworth, chap. 7, §. 17; see Baxter's *Key for Catholics* for large quotations from Santa Clara's volume, p. 307.

## CHAPTER II.

*A Vindication of several Saints and worthy souls, our Ancestors, from the sentence of Damnation passed upon them by* I. S.

To render me odious to my Lord Lieutenant, to my own kindred, and to all good men, he pretends that I adjudge unto hell his Excellency's ancestors, my own ancestors, St. Bernard, Aquinas, and other holy men. The ground which he alledges for fathering this severe sentence upon me, is, that I should say, *that in the Popish Religion none may be saved;* and, which is more intolerable, *that there is no salvation in the Catholic Church.*

All men who know my principles and temper in writing and speaking, will be surprised at the impudence of this man, in imputing to me such desperate and rude positions. That none may be saved in the Romish or Popish Religion, I never said with that generality, but with a limitation, leaving a gate to salvation for innumerable good souls, and for the holy and renowned men whom he mentions, as I shall now shew.

To pronounce for damned all the adverse parties of Christians without distinction, is a rashness I ever abhorred, and constantly opposed in the Romanists, when I was on their side; and which I would not imitate against my present adversaries: much less did I or could I say, that there is no salvation in the Catholic Church, out of which I expect no salvation for myself or others.

I have said indeed, and proved with reasons which *I. S.* will never solve, that the *Roman* Church according to the present profession and practice of it, is not a safe way to salvation, generally and absolutely speaking; that many of the tenets and practices of it are inconsistent with salvation, in such, as understanding the error of them, do continue to embrace them. This I have said, and will maintain at all times, by the help of God and truth; but how different this is from saying, that *in the Roman Church a man may not be saved, and that there is no salvation in the Catholic Church,* any person of common sense

may easily conceive; and withal, judge how unpleasing a work it is, to spend precious time in debating with a man of such confused brains and ill digested expressions.

The foundation therefore for the censure of damnation passed against those saints and renowned men not having been laid by me, but proceeded from the fancy or fiction of *I. S.* it remains that he is the author of that malignant censure: My work will be to vindicate the persons injured from that cruel sentence, by shewing that it is not a consequence of my opinion above mentioned, owned and confirmed by many thousands of learned and pious men.

The stress of his argument, and where he hopes to be more successful is, in what concerns *Thomas of Aquin.* He says, that the sanctuary of ignorance which we allow to others for escaping damnation, cannot avail him, being well versed in Scripture, and an eminent master in most sciences; and so he conceives his damnation to be unavoidable in consequence of my before mentioned position, and the common sense of all the Reformed Churches; and then proceeds to sound a triumph as upon a manifest victory. But if Mr. *I. S.'s* Logic makes a demonstration to him of this consequence, it does not to me; nor will it to any ordinary Logician, who understands the terms and state of the question. If he does not know how to save *Aquinas*, and several other good and learned men of the Roman Church, from damnation, in the opinion of so many thousands of learned men of the Reformed Churches, I can and will teach him. I am not of those fiery spirits, reproved by the Royal piety of King James, who affirm, that in the Popish Religion none can be saved, as Mr. *I. S.* falsely and maliciously to his own knowledge imposes upon me. I am inclined with my study and wishes, and far more willingly deliver my opinion for the salvation than the damnation of men, when by the least probability induced thereunto.

And first for *Aquinas* and other learned men of his time, I thus plead: The errors and foul practices of the Roman Church were not so many then as now; they increase daily. They have not been so known and cleared in the crucible of public opposition; none dared to check them: and so they kept credit. The impostures, fallacies and absurdities of Mr. *I. S.'s* book will not be so well known to his proselytes possessed with prejudices, and to others that see it alone, as to impartial persons, who can compare

it with my exceptions against it; so it is with those erroneous tenets which began to come into use in Aquinas's time, or somewhat before, and were not opposed.

Secondly, for many learned men even of our own time, which seems more difficult, I say that invincible ignorance may be pleaded. For which I advertise, that invincible ignorance (according to the common use of the Schools and our present purpose) is not that which by no means absolutely possible may be avoided, but such as a man cannot remedy by means obvious to him according to his state and condition. In this sense Shepherds and the like in Spain and Italy, who want instruction for knowing the Creed or Ten Commandments, are commonly excused upon the account of invincible ignorance; and the fault is laid upon their fathers, masters, or curates. In the same manner I say that many Professors of Philosophy and Divinity in *Spain* and *Italy*, may be invincibly ignorant of the malice contained in the erroneous principles which they profess, having sucked them in during their tender years, as Divine Verities proceeding from a living reputedly Infallible Authority. They never heard them controverted or examined; no books written against them were permitted to come in their sight. They were taught that it was a sin to doubt of the truth of their tenets; *ergo* those men wanted the ordinary means of instruction, and consequently may have the refuge of invincible ignorance.

All this I know to be so by my own experience. Having lived in *Spain* many years, and having had, for several of them, licence from the Inquisitor General to read all manner of prohibited books, the prohibition was so severe that I could never find *one* book of a Protestant to read. And even in *Ireland*, where more liberty may be expected, there is a severe prohibition against reading books in opposition to the Romish tenets;* which appeared

* Dr. Carroll (a Roman Catholic Prelate in the United States) assserted, "that Roman Catholics read *without censure or hesitation* whatever Controversial books they pleased. This is notoriously untrue, as Mr. Pilling [a Priest] has confessed. 'La défense de lire des livres Hérétiques,' say the *Conferences D'Angers*, a work of great repute, 'est generale: elle comprend les Prêtres comme Laiques; les personnes ecclairées, comme celles qui ne sont pas instruites. * * * * Mr. Collet (*de fide cap.* 1, *sect.* 2,) ne reconnoit pas de legèreté de matière dans la lecture des livres heretiques. Le Pere Antoine estime que quinze lignes et peut-être moins, suffisent pour faire une peche mortel. * * * * Sanchez

particularly in reference to that small book which I published. For upon my offering it for perusal to a Romish Priest, Vicar General of a famous Church in that Kingdom, that he might see I did not without consideration and reason what I had done, he desired to be excused from reading it, as fearing it would raise in him doubts which he could not solve: and if this injunction is so severe upon persons of that degree, it must be more indispensible upon the generality.

Means of instruction for knowing their errors being thus carefully prohibited to members of the Romish communion in all times and places, we may favourably conceive that many of them, both learned and unlearned, may have and plead the excuse of Invincible Ignorance, the sin lying upon the statists who, for temporal ends, debar them from the means of healthful knowledge.

One remark more in favour of the learned. Very many of them having bestowed the flower of their age in studies of humanity, philosophy, and speculative divinity, are taken up, and often kept all their life-time teaching those faculties, without ever

exige un peu plus qu' une page in folio et in 4to. pour qu'on encourre la censure. * * * * On en doit conclure qu' il faut bien peu de chose pour tomber dans la réserve sur cette matiere.' Such, Sir, is the present discipline of the Roman Church." Hawkins's *General Defence of the Ref. in a Letter to Berington;* (Worcester, 1788,) p. 23. [The Conferences D'Angers were reprinted at Besançon, in 26 vols., 1823.]

To the above may be added the testimony of *another* Priest, who also abandoned the Church of Rome, and became Rector of Burlington, Jersy, U. S. "Inconsistency apart, he must have a daring soul, who shall venture upon a pasture, which the *Universal Shepherd* pronounces to be poisonous, and forbids his flock to taste at the hazard of their salvation. The Rev. Gentleman (Dr. Carroll) will not deny that these lofty pretensions have their effect to this day. Else why are R. C.'s constantly advised to obtain *permission* to read heretical books for the security of their consciences?

Among the *faculties* as they are called, or parochial powers conferred on R. C. Missionaries even in England, is not a special Licence granted for keeping and reading heretical books? The Chaplain's warrant on this head is expressed in these words:—Conceditur facultas tenendi et legendi libros hæreticorum de eorum religione tractantes ad effectum eos expugnandi—Leave is granted to keep and read the books of heretics, which treat of their religion, in order to refute them.' These lines place this whole matter in its proper point of view." Wharton's *Reply to the Address of the Roman Catholics of the U. S.* p. 9. New York, 1817.

Dr. Wharton had been a Priest at Worcester, England—and the honest volume from which this extract is made, contains both his and Dr. Carrols's pamphlets.

reflecting upon, or having means to know, the errors of their Church in the points controverted. They embrace them upon the credit of their instructors, as infallible verities, and the more so, from their being continually beaten into their ears, with horror and execration against the opposite doctrine. And how great the power of education and prejudice is, let the Dominicans and Jesuits testify. How fiercely and eagerly does each one act and opine for the school in which he was educated, and against the opposite!*

By this it appears how vain the triumph of *I. S.* is, as if in my opinion all learned men dying in the communion of the Church of *Rome* were condemned to hell. We have seen that impious sentence to be a product of his own fancy, no consequence of any doctrine of mine. More rash and wicked was his attempt in casting a similar sentence of condemnation upon those glorious saints and great doctors of the Church, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Chrysostom. What have they to do with his errors to be condemned for them? Strong opposers of such errors, no patrons of them were they; as partly I have already and hereafter will more fully declare.

It appears likewise by this discourse, how ridiculous his charge upon me is, of contradiction and speaking against my conscience† in calling *Thomas Aquinas* a saint. I have shewed how that consists with, and contradicts not, what I have delivered respecting the insecurity of salvation in the Communion of the Roman Church. He pretends to render me guilty in the tribunal of the English *Inquisition* for calling *Aquinas* a saint; but the Inquisition of *England* is not so rude as that of *Rome* in denying common civility to men, and the honorary titles which custom allows them. He may as well accuse the compilers of the London Gazettes for giving to the Pope the title of *Holiness*, and

* It cannot be pressed too often upon the attention of the considerate reader to what a lamentable extent this conduct of the Roman Church is carried in order to keep her children in ignorance and thus secure, as she thinks, their devotion to her. See Baxter's *Key for Catholics*, p. 247, and note to the same; edit. 1839.

† Popish and Jesuitic disputants have a very happy and rather amusing facility in being beforehand with an opponent, throwing charges upon him first which they are conscious are most applicable to, and therefore most likely to be thrown upon themselves.

will have as much thanks for it, as for his present impeachment of me for calling *Aquinas* a Saint. We do not take it for a certain proof of holiness to be canonized in the Church of Rome. Many of their own more learned writers deny it to be inerrable therein. It is not merit alone* which attains that honour there. And though we know all this to be so, we do not grudge to call those saints whom we find by custom to be so entitled.

And from all that has been said hitherto, we may see and wonder at the rare boldness of this man, in terming it *Blasphemy* in me to relate the common opinion of all learned Protestants, or to consent to it; and to propose to have us all burned for it, by sentence of our own chief governor! to pretend, in justification of this wicked attempt, the authority of our Sovereign King James of glorious memory! whose decrees and sentiments herein I do most willingly obey, and consent unto—to impose upon me an opinion which I never uttered by word, or writing, nor ever harboured in my thoughts, that there is no salvation in the Roman Catholic Church! and that her errors are inconsistent with salvation;—

* True enough: see Baxter's *Key for Catholics*, edit 1839, p. 246. But a modern illustration of the truth of the charge, evidencing the *semper eadem* practice of the Church of Rome may be acceptable to the reader:—

"Soon after landing in *Malta*, I paid a visit to a subterraneous cavern beneath the Church of St. Pubblio at Florianne, just out of Valletta. * * * In this valley of vision were two bodies, which one of the monks informed me, laid claim to what the Papal pale styles *Canonization*, that is, to hold the rank of *Saints*, and stand in the Calendar as *Mediators*.—I approached these skeletons—'These,' said the Monk, 'claim Canonization.' Then what are they doing here?—'The question is not yet settled at Rome.' What question?—'Whether they are really saints.' How is that?—'Why, no miracles have yet been wrought by their bones, and their living relatives have not been able to defray *the heavy expences of a trial* at Rome.' What trial?—'Any human body preferring a claim to Canonization must undergo a trial like those in Courts of Law. An Ecclesiastic acts as Advocate for the candidate relics, while a second performs the part of a demon, raking up whatever he can against the candidate to prevent his attaining the high honour of Saintship. After both parties have finished their statements, the decision is pronounced by an appointed Judge.' And who pays the process?—'Oh, the friends of the man or woman tried.' Does the man who acts Satan's part at a trial tell all he knows of a candidate's faults?—'Of course: the man who acted this part at the trial of the bones of St. Francis, alleged against that Saint, that when a mere boy he played at bowls; but this objection was overruled.' Are the expenses great?—'Very; in fact, it is for want of money that these two bodies remain here unsainted.'" Wilson's Narrative of the Greek Mission, &c. pp. 126, 7, London, 1839.

thus to clip my words and force them against my will and well declared meaning, in order to subserve his own malicious purposes —[this, I say, is wonderful boldness.]

And notwithstanding these enormous excesses and absurdities of his language, his presumption is so blind, that he concludes his Dedicatory Epistle by stating that, even if his Treatise contained nothing else but this check which he offers me, it must nevertheless be grateful to his Excellency! If this address were made to a weak or dull person, it were yet criminal enough; but in presenting it to so deep a judgment and well known wisdom as that of my Lord Lieutenant, pardon me, sacred laws of Modesty! if I say it is a very insolent boldness.

But now to the main point in debate.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Mr.* I. S's. *cold defence of the Infallibility of his Church examined.*

Both in my Declaration and in my printed Sermon, or *discourse against the errors of the Roman Church*, I signified, that the only anchor left to keep me in the Communion of it, (after a strong apprehension of its erroneous tenets) was the opinion of Infallibility granted to that Church, and the Head of it: but that anchor being cut off, and a clear discovery made of the fallacy of their pretended Infallibility, I set open my eyes and heart to receive the light which God sent me in his holy Writ, to discover their pernicious errors and declare for his precious truth against them.

My adversary perceiving this to be the hinge on which all the fabric turns, and that if I were persuaded of that Infallibility, I would blind my eyes to follow, without any further dispute, the conduct of such a guide—goes about to set up the said Infallibility with all his power, and so entitles his book, *The unerring unerrable Church.* But the way for compassing his design is very odd, which is yielding to my first and main attack upon it, that is the uncertainty of such an Infallibility to assist them, which I proved by the disconformity of their authors in asserting it, and the weakness of the grounds which they produce for it. But Mr. I. S. (page 167) gives me leave to believe what I please therein: *It is no article of faith* (says he) *that the Pope is Infallible.* If he disliked that doctrine, he might have denied it and remain a Catholic.* A *Catholic* I may remain and die, but not of their Communion, that prop for these *structures* failing, which I saw clearly to be ruinous without it.

It is an intolerable cavil to say that I was speaking of the

* Of what value then can his decision be in the position, to which he is exalted by *Bellarmine*, *Gretzer*, and many others, as being *the Church*—per *Ecclesiam*, quando Ecclesiam dicimus esse omnium controversiarum fidei Judicem, intelligimus *Pontificem Romanum.* Gretzer's *Defen. of Bellarmine*, lib. 3, c. 10; quoted in *Ingram's Transubstantiation Refuted*, p. 4

Pope alone, or of the Roman Diocese, in order to delude the reader with impertinent digressions, as he often does; I have clearly expressed my meaning to be, that neither the Pope, alone, nor in a Council (such as that of Trent,) nor the congregation under his obedience, are infallible. To say that the said congregation should be considered the Church Universal, (which I do allow, according to St. Paul's expression (1 Tim. iii. 15,) to be *the pillar and ground of truth)* is an arrogant begging of a conclusion which will never be allowed to them; all Christian Churches who differ from them, which are far the greater part of Christendom, exclaiming against their blind presumption in appropriating unto themselves the name of *the Catholic Church.*

That the Church truly Universal, composed of all believers in Christ, whether diffusive, or representative in a Council truly Œcumenical and free, such as were the first four General Councils, (and such as was *not* the Council of *Trent**) is promised

* The objections of Peter Walsh to the Council of Trent are, that it was not Œcumenical—that it was merely an Occidental Council, and that it was not "free." His reasons for the last complaint are:—

"Because all the members of it, to a man, were sworn vassals of the Pope by the strictest oath of fidelity that could be drawn by pen. And the *Proponentibus Legatis* [clause], and the continual directions by the Mail, and the numbers of Titulars and Pensioners and even Renouncers hurried on a sudden from the Court to the Council, and the Archbishop of *Otranto*, with his forty sure seconds, and the place itself of *Trent* so much at the devotion of *Rome*, and many other both fine devices and frighting menaces of the Pope, and of his Legates presiding in the Council, might be added, were it necessary. But, after that oath once mentioned, there needs no more to be said. It is not only an oath that has been unknown to all Christian Bishops and Churches for a thousand years from Christ downwards, nor only an oath that is repugnant to the duty of every good subject on earth who is subject to any other Prince or State besides the Pope; but an oath that tyrannizes over all freedom of Religion, Reason, Conscience—an oath that betrays all the Christian Churches in the world to the lordly will of one single man. But therefore an oath so necessary to the Pope that being desired to dispense in it with the Members of the Council, or at least to suspend the obligation of it during the Sessions, he expressly refused to do either." *Four Letters* by Peter Walsh of St. Francis's Order, pp. 107-8.

To this may be added Mr. Hawkins's pertinent queries—

"Can you really affirm with your hand upon your bosom, that either in this Council or almost any other, every subject was discussed 'previo examine fideli et diligenti, absque suffragiorum ambitu, aut solicitâ prensatione,' as *Hooke* and *Holden* and common sense require? Of 267 Prelates who assisted at it, more than two thirds were *Italians*, entirely at the beck of the Roman Pontiff; and it is well known how great the prejudices of the ultramontane Clergy are, in favour

to have the assistance of the Holy Ghost, so that, though it be not properly infallible, yet it shall not err in things fundamental to men's salvation, I do piously believe, and of my meaning therein I gave him no occasion to doubt.

Therefore if he will speak to the purpose, admitting that it is not an article of faith, that the Pope is infallible in the sense in which I denied Infallibility to him, that is to say, in a Council of those depending upon him, or out of it, it follows that they have no certainty for their tenets in relying upon the Pope's Infallibility; which being no article of faith cannot be certain in itself, nor consequently give certainty to things depending upon it.* He only allows Infallibility to the Pope jointly with a General Council. Herein he gratifies the Jansenists, who may upon this ground plead for indemnity, notwithstanding the definitions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. against them; which being not confirmed or authorized by a General Council in conjunction with the Pope, cannot pretend to Infallibility in Mr. *I. S.'s* opinion, who hereby must incense against himself all the party adverse to the Jansenists, and they may prove too hard for him.

But he says that all Catholics do agree in the Infallibility of the Pope and a General Council. Therefore *Aquinas*, *Turrecremata* and *Alphonsus à Castro* are in his opinion no Catholics, of whom Canus relates, that the Church, even Pope and Council together may err materially in their opinion,† as I mentioned in

of whatever is the discipline or doctrine of that Court. Indeed enough of this may be seen in the historian of its own choice, to justify these reflections. Nor can we wonder, when we reflect on the dissensions, (Pallav. lib. 8, c. 6,) as well as the political manœuvres which he has recorded, that *Amelot* (Preface to his Trans. of Fra. Paolo) and *Aquilinus* should have acknowledged that he has done more to lessen the authority of the Council, than even the writer of whom he so grievously complains." *A General Defence of the Reformation, in a Letter to Berington*, by Hawkins; (Worc. 1788,) p. 162. See Holden's *De Resolutione fidei*, lib. 2, cap. 3, §. 2.

* See note upon this subject in Baxter's *Key for Catholics to open the Juggling of the Jesuits*. p. 57, edit. 1839.

† Canus lib. 4, *de loc. com.* 4. cap. 4, p. 16; Aquin. in 4, d. 6, qu. 1, art. 7, in 3, qu. 2, ad 3; Turrecrem. l. 2, *Sum. Ecclesiæ*, c. 91; Alphons. à Cast. *de justa Hæreticorum punitione*, lib. 1, cap. 5; Gloss. interlin. in illud Mat. xvi. *portæ infer.* &c.

[This empty affirmation as to Infallibility will enable us to shew the equally empty boast as to *Unity*, in the Church of Rome, even on the (to them) most important subjects:—

"God nevertheless has in our days raised up at last a *Catholic* doctor in the

the 30th page of my discourse,* which if he had considered and examined, he would not so peremptorily assert that all Catholics do agree in the Infallibility of Pope and Council jointly.

Neither indeed does Mr. *I. S.* himself seem to be very strong in the belief of this Infallibility; for in the comfort which he gives his brethren on this account, extolling their happiness herein above Protestants, he so orders the matter, that their comfort must not be grounded upon the real existence of that Infallibility; but upon a strong apprehension or belief of it, though not extant. *It is a comfort,* says he, *to an unacquainted traveller, to be guided by one whom he firmly believes to be acquainted with the way; though really your guide were not acquainted with the way; if you certainly believe that he is and cannot stray, &c.* This

Church, as it were on set purpose to undeceive the world; by exposing Bellarmine and all his flattering courtly tribe, as well in this very matter, as in many other of his Controversial points. I mean the never-enough celebrated Launoy. It is he that has quite overturned all the foundations of *Bellarmine's* edifice for the Pope's Infallibility in any kind of sense; nor those of *Bellarmine* only, but those of Cano and Cajetan too, who preceded him; and rendered all, both their arguments and answers, on this whole subject, vain and foolish nonsense! It is he that has ferreted them out of all their holes, and caught them in their own nets, and concluded them even by their own principles! It is he, that notwithstanding *Bellarmine's* alledging ten classic authors for his own opinion, and saying it was the *common tenet of almost all Catholics,* has even demonstratively stripped him of eight of this number, and left him only those two before-named; *Cajetan* and *Cano,* I mean! It is he that, besides those five authors of *Bellarmine's* own naming, and besides at least five hundred more in several great bodies of Theological Faculties united together, viz. those of *Bononia, Pavia, Siena* in Italy, *Louvain* in Belgia, *Colen* and *Hertford* in Germany, *Vienna* in Austria, *Cracow* in Poland; *Anjou, Orleance, Toulouse,* and *Paris* in France. (And *Paris* too, even in the very days of yore, and three several times convened on purpose; that is (1) in the year 1333, against the errors of Pope John XXII.; (2) in the year 1387, against the error of *Montisonus;* (3) in the year 1429, against the error of *Saracenus,* a Dominican; (4) in the year 1482, against the error of *John Angelius,* a Minorite.) *Launoy,* I say, is he, that besides those 12 Italian, Belgic, German, Polish, Austrian Universities in particular, and the *Spanish* too in general, has given us a much larger list of single eminent authors who upon the question have purposely and positively written against this pretended Infallibility of the Pope! It is he who has quoted the books, and censures, and passages, and precise words at length, not only of those five single authors allowed us by *Bellarmine* himself, nor only of those last mentioned Universities specified by name—but of those other additional private or single authors, amounting in all to full seven and fifty." *Four Letters on several subjects,* by Peter Walsh, of St. Francis's Order, p. 297. 1686, where the list is transcribed.

* Page 35 of the present Edition.

is much such another inducement as the grand Turk holds out to his men, that, dying in his quarrel they will go immediately to Paradise; though it be not so, it is a comfort to think it is: a sad comfort for the unhappy souls who are lost, but commodious for the Turk, in order to obtain by these means people to fight desperately and die for him.

Thus it is with the Church or Court of *Rome*. To believe they are infallible is a satisfaction to the people, and very important for the authority and grandeur of that Court; whether it be so indeed is not material. The understanding of this mystery we are to expect, it seems, from Mr. *I. S.'s* ingenuity. Poor man! he has not been well acquainted with the intrigues of that Court; they do not fancy to have the *arcana imperii*, the mysteries of their government discovered.* He will certainly fall short of his expected remuneration for his writing; and if a Cap be deputed to him for it, sure I am it will not be that of a Cardinal.

* It is stated by Campanella, that no Sovereign could found an universal Empire over Europe, because the Pope was the presiding Lord; and that he either seconded or thwarted the schemes of the Temporal powers, as best suited the Papal advancement—*quoniam Papa præest illis* (populis) *et dissipat erigitque illorum conatus, prout Religioni expedit.* (Camp. *Politica* cap. 8, quoted in Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, 3. 359)—a valuable remark from such a quarter.

## CHAPTER IV.

*That Protestants have a greater security for the truth of their doctrine than Papists have.* Mr.* I. S.'s *ridiculous exposition and impious contradicting of* St. Paul's text, *in favour of Scripture, rebuked.*

Our Adversary triumphs upon the aforesaid fancied comfort of members of the Church of Rome on apprehending their guide to be infallible, though he be not so indeed; which comfort he says the Protestants cannot have, being guided by a Church, which they believe is not so well assured of the way but that they may err. God forbid that Protestants should not have a better warrant for the truth of their doctrine, than what he gives to Papists. They have the infallible word of God, delivering all their doctrine, and clearly containing all that is necessary to salvation and a perfect life; as appears evidently by what I delivered in the discourse which Mr. *I. S.* goes about to oppose, and will be further evidenced, by shewing how vain and weak the opposition is. They have besides, in the general tradition of the Church, a full and sufficient certainty that the books, commonly received for Canonical, are the true word of God, and therefore are certain of God's Infallible Authority, assisting in favour of the verities contained in those books: which kind of certainty though only moral, regarding the existence of God's revelation in favour of those verities—joined with an absolute and undoubted certainty, that whatsoever God reveals is infallible verity—supplies up all the certainty that a pious and prudent believer ought to expect in matters of Divine faith.

Mr. *I. S.* talks of a kind of certainty requisite for Divine faith, of which I doubt much, whether he, or any of his party, ever had possession for all those articles which they pretend to be of faith. He tells us (and takes it upon the credit of his instructors, without much examination, as he often does in other matters) that for

* Upon the *insecurity* of the Roman Religion, Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive* may be consulted, pt. 2, bk. 1, §. 8; and Chillingworth, chap. 3, §. 56.

all acts of belief touching revealed truths, an absolute certainty is requisite to release the believer from all manner of doubt. If you speak of an objective certainty, relating to the mystery revealed, all true believers have it, being fully assured that God cannot reveal an untruth; but if you speak of a subjective certainty, excluding all manner of doubts as well regarding the truth of Divine Revelation if extant, as of the existence of it, I do vehemently suspect, that both you and your instructors are speaking against your sense and experience, especially with respect to points controverted, and not explicitly contained in Scripture; such as is Transubstantiation for example, that mystery which Scotus, Ockam, Cajetan, and others of your ablest Schoolmen could never find in Scripture, nor agreeable to the rules of common reason. I appeal to your breast for judging, whether you have, respecting this point, that degree of certainty excluding all manner of doubt, which you pretend to be necessary for all acts of belief in regard to revealed truths.

Mr. *I. S.* must not expect from me, that I should take notice of, and pursue all the impertinencies which he runs upon in his book; my intention being only to clear the truth in our main concern, and therefore to follow him only so far as I find him speaking pertinently to the points which I proposed, for discovering their grosser errors, and which forced me to a separation from their communion.

In the first Chapter of his book, he enlarges upon points which we allow, and know upon firmer grounds than his proofs for them, —that God is to be adored; that he has himself revealed what manner of worship he requires; that this worship is true Religion; that the same is but one; that God has afforded sufficient means to know which is the true saving Religion, and that Divine faith must be grounded upon an Infallible Authority, fully assuring us of the truth of its proposals. The controversy is, what authority this is, whether of the Scripture as *we believe*, or of the Pope and Council, as *he* pretends.

For a visible judge to ascertain us of Divine verities, I once argued, that it became Divine wisdom and goodness, to provide us such to determine our controversies, which otherwise would be endless. It was replied* that we ought to be wary in censuring

* Vide *Sermon*, p. 30.

God's wisdom, if this or that, which seemed to us convenient, were not done in the government of the world. I acknowledged the force of the reply, and furthered it with an instance, that we may as well say that it belongs to the power and goodness of God not to permit his holy laws to be transgressed by vile creatures; and as we do not judge it a failure in his goodness to permit sin, so ought we not to waver in the opinion of his goodness, if he has not appointed us a visible Judge for our direction, having given us the Holy Scriptures which abound with all light and heavenly doctrine to such as are not wilfully obstinate.

Mr. *I. S.* not accustomed to approve any thing in his opponents, calls this my acknowledgment weakness, and to my instance says, it becomes the goodness of God to permit sins, and the scandals of Popes, for the exercise of their liberty. But if this stout disputant were as provident as he is confident in running upon engagements, he might have seen a ready reply to his objection, that liberty is no less necessary to heresy, than to other sins, being an essential requisite to all moral actions good or bad. Neither is the permission of heresy less convenient, whether for the exercise of liberty, or for other reasons, which made the Apostle say, that *there must be heresies among men*, 1 Cor. xi. 25; neither does the pretended Infallibility of his Church hinder heresies, and endless controversies among them.

But where I proceed to prove that the word of God is able to furnish us with all necessary instruction, out of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. saying, that *Holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works;* this is the gloss of our antagonist —*But I infer the contrary; whereas Scriptures, though replenished they be with heavenly light, are not sufficient to declare unto us what we ought to believe, we might waver in our opinion of God's goodness, if he did not appoint an infallible living Judge to instruct us.* Is this to interpret St. Paul, or clearly to oppose and contradict him? St. Paul says that the Scriptures are *able to make us wise unto salvation*, and *I. S.* says, that they are *not* sufficient to declare unto us what we ought to believe; which is clearly to say, that they are *not able to make us wise unto salvation;* for certainly without due belief we cannot be saved. This interpretation resembles another attributed

by a Friar, to *Lyra*, who, being convinced that the proposition which he was denying was in Scripture, replied it was true, the Text said so, but *Nicolas de Lyra* said the contrary. So it is in our case: St. Paul says that the Scripture is able to make us wise unto salvation; but Mr. *I. S.* says the contrary: which of them ought we to believe?*

I might expect indeed that the subtilty of our Sophister would tax me with giving my conclusion for a reason of itself; such is the identity in sense of my assertion with St. Paul's text alleged in proof of it: That Holy Scripture is sufficient to instruct us for salvation and a good life, is what St. Paul says, and what I say, neither more nor less. But it is for slow wits to fetch out of a text only what is contained in it; sublime understandings must find in it more than the author meant, nay, the contrary to his words and meaning. It is not for them to submit to that rule of Canonists, that it is not a right way of interpreting a text to mend it; Mr. *I. S.* mends the text of St. Paul by asserting the contrary to it, and from the contrary assertion by him substituted, he infers a contrary consequence to that which I inferred from St. Paul's assertion. I infer thus—Whereas Scripture is sufficient for our full instruction, we ought not to waver in our opinion of God's goodness, if he did not appoint an infallible living Judge to direct us. But Mr. *I. S.* thinking *that* a small Discovery, thus resolves:—*But I infer the contrary: Whereas the Scriptures, though replenished with heavenly light, are not sufficient to declare unto us what we ought to believe, we might waver in our opinion of God's goodness, if he did not appoint an Infallible living Judge to instruct us.* I leave the judicious reader to reflect upon the stock of insolencies heaped up in these lines —to give the lie flatly to St. Paul, and pronounce a sentence against the goodness of God, if *He* did not what Mr. *I. S.* thinks fit to be done!

But see how our admirable Doctor teaches St. Paul to mend his error, that where he said Scripture is *able to* make us wise

* If the reader wishes any farther elucidation of the text, and, as usual, the support of members of the Church of *Rome* to the Protestant interpretation, the Treatises of Rivet—*Pro vera pace Apologeticus*, §. 119; *Grotianæ Discuss.* διάλυσις sect. 14, §. 3; and Father Simon's *Critical Hist. of the New Test.* part 2, pp. 63—70, may be consulted.

unto salvation, he did not say it of Scripture alone, but in conjunction with those auxiliaries which Mr. *I. S.* is pleased to appoint. As if any one, to magnify his strength, should say he could carry two hundred weight, and being on a trial found unable to do it, with a view to verify his saying, should allege that he did not mean that he could carry so much alone, but he and a horse with him. Such quibbles as these are altogether more becoming Mr. *I. S.* than St. Paul; and so he may keep them for himself, and not father them upon the great Apostle.

Further; he proceeds to oppose St. Paul by asserting that when he wrote that Epistle to Timothy, the whole Canon of Scripture was not completed;* and that the whole Canon, and not a part of it, can alone be sufficient means for our instruction; therefore, the Scripture, of which St. Paul was speaking, cannot be a sufficient means for instructing us to salvation. Herein our Sophister is twice impious, *first*, in taxing the great Apostle's assertion with untruth; *next*, that the *Oracle* of God, delivered to men in each time, for their instruction to salvation, should not be complete and sufficient.

By this it appears well, how much a stranger this man is to the common doctrine of Divines, who affirm, that, in the Apostles' Creed are contained all verities necessary to be believed for salvation; and in the ten Commandments all duties to be performed of necessity to the same end. And may not the Creed and ten Commandments be known without a knowledge of the whole Canon of Scripture? His boldness is prodigious in making extravagant assertions without exhibiting any proof but his own bare *ipse dixit*, after the manner of Pythagoras. For, finding me declare myself unfit for Pythagoras's School, where *ipse dixit* was the rule, and men will not give reason for what they teach; he opposes, that if I am to expect reason for what I believe, I am not fit for Christ's School, nor for learning from Scripture, which affords nothing but a bare *ipse dixit*.† But if the man had any

* The Second Epistle to Timothy is placed the *last* in date of St. Paul's writings, and was written, it is probable, in A.D. 65; see Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study*, &c. Vol. IV. pp. 306. 406; edit. 1828.

† It is strange that I. Sergeant or any Priest should offer such an objection, and still more so that he should claim the privilege for the Scriptures; though it is supposed that from *them* the Proverb took its origin—"Admonendum

ingenuousness in him, he would spare this objection, seeing it had been already anticipated in the 18th page* of my discourse, where I acknowledge with thanksgiving to God that I never doubted of the Truth of Holy Scripture, nor of the Creed proposed to us by the Catholic Apostolic Church, dictated by God Almighty, and worthy to be believed without cavilling examination; not so *Pythagoras*, nor the *Pope*.

videtur in hac præmia, perinde valere, quasi dicas *Dominus dixit:* ut Pythagoras ab Ægyptiorum vatibus videatur didicisse figuram hanc prophetis familiarem." *Erasmi Adagia.*

* Page 26 of this present Edition.

## CHAPTER V.

Mr. I. S's. *prolix excursion about the Pope's authority requisite to know which is the true Scripture, demonstrated to be impertinent; and the state of the question cleared from the confusion which he puts upon it.*

Our adversary finding the Pope's Infallibility to be an expression odious and ridiculous to all intelligent men, and whereof even the sober part of Romanists grow ashamed, endeavours to serve us up the same dish under another dress; calling it the *Authority* of the Church Universal.* And if therein he spake properly, or sincerely, he would have less opposition from us. But if you proceed to enquire what he means by Church Universal, he tells you it is the Congregation subject to the *Pope* of *Rome*, excluding all other men, and particularly the Church of *England*, from being any part of that his Universal Church. The said congregation subject to the Pope, whether diffusive or representative in a General Council depending upon the Pope, and confirmed by him, he pretends to be infallible. And whatever I alledge against the Infallibility of the *Roman* Church, he thinks to elude by pretending that I am speaking of the particular Diocese of Rome —a gross misunderstanding or wilful misrepresentation of my meaning, for which I never gave any ground either in my writing or discourses. He is now to be informed that I speak in proper terms, as generally used among learned men when writing upon

* Vide *Exomologesis*, or *a faithful Narration of the occasion and motives of the Conversion of Hugh Paulin De Cressy*, 12mo. Paris, 1647, chap. 40.

[The plan of using the word "Authority" which Cressy recommended as a substitute for "Infallibility," and as being less harmful, has been and is often followed on other subjects also by Romish writers and speakers in *Protestant* countries. This Church which boasts so loudly of her unity and uniformity, allows her agents to frame even her most valuable doctrines to suit the varying fashion of the hour, for the sake of making proselytes. Cressy afterwards published a second Edition of his Narration, "with additions and explications" in 1653, but withdrew an *Oath* which *he* had drawn up, for Roman Catholics to take—quite a mistake he found, when he began to be better acquainted with his Church! See Dod's *Church History*, 3. 307, and Chalmer's *Biog. Dict.*]

this subject, understanding the *Roman* Church to be the party following the Pope's faction wheresoever extant, whether congregated or dispersed, prescinding from his altercations with the rest, or any whom they may have among themselves; for as both he and the rest make that Infallibility to depend ultimately upon the Pope's authority, we may well represent their assertion, as opposite to the sentiment of all other Christians, under the notion of the Pope's Infallibility.*

The terms and state of the question being thus cleared, it remains to shew how impertinent his prolix excursion and vain ostentation is, in telling us of the diversity of opinions which were held in different times about Canonical Scripture, and the difficulty of ascertaining us which is the true one. This is an old device of those of his faction, in order to decline the main controversy in hand on which they still betray the weakness of their cause. They and he should remember that these points are controverted among parties who agree in reverencing the Bible as the Infallible word of God. And if he thinks the part of it received as Canonical by common consent, will not suffice for ending our controversies, we admit willingly St. Augustine's rule for clearing the difficulties relative to particular books, the authority of the Church and the tradition of it, as described by Lirinensis, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod apud omnes—What was in all time, in all places, and by all Christians delivered*, that we take for a true Apostolic Tradition; and to it we are resolved to stand or fall, as well for discerning Canonical Scripture, as for understanding the true meaning of it.

If Mr. *I. S.* was in the habit of taking the words *Church* and *Tradition* in the sense that the holy Fathers did, and the learned men of the Church of *England* do, he would find in us all due reverence to those sacred fountains of Christian verities. But to call Church Universal, the faction adhering to the Pope of Rome, in opposition to the rest of Christians, is a presumption like that of the Turk, in calling himself King of kings, and Emperor of all the world: such as are vassals to him may revere that calling; others laugh at it. But we do not find the Turk to have played the fool so egregiously, as to fancy that his assumed title is

* That all is grounded upon the Pope's Authority, Bellarmine declares, saying, *totam firmitatem Conciliorum legitimorum esse a Pontifice, non partim a Pontifice, partim a Concilio.* Lib. 4, *de Rom. Pont.* c. 3, sect. at contra.

granted by other Princes independent of him, or to allege it as a ground of his pretensions with them. This is Mr. *I. S's.* folly, in taking for granted, in his debates with us, that the Romish faction is the Catholic Universal Church. So great an intruder upon disputes should learn that rule of disputants, *Quod gratis dicitur gratis negatur—what is barely said without proof is sufficiently refuted with a bare denial.* This alone, well considered, will suffice to overthrow many Chapters of Mr. *I. S.'s* book. What makes him spend time in telling us of the difficulty of finding out which is true Scripture—the Rule truly Infallible of our belief, when he sees us thus ascertained of it? Why does he trouble us with speaking of a criterion or beam of light pretended by Fanatics, though confessing it at the same time to be exploded by Protestants? Is it to make his book swell?

But finding that he cannot hide Scripture from us, he will have us to be beholden to the Pope for the true meaning of it. He musters up a store of arguments objected by *Pagans*, *Arians*, and *Sabellians* against the Mystery of the Trinity; and would have us leave the points in hand to answer them: let him go to the Fathers who propose the arguments—they will deliver the answer. The Councils truly Œcumenical of the Primitive Church, and universal Tradition secure to us the right meaning of Scripture, in relation to those points. How then arises here a need of the Pope and his faction to ascertain us?

He finds a special Mystery in the point of Purgatory, that either we for diminishing, or they for adding to, the words of God, are in a damnable error, deserving to be blotted out of the *Book of Life*, Rev. xx. 9. The danger is clearly on their side; there being no mention of Purgatory in the written word of God, as shall hereafter be made to appear.

In the IVth Chapter he is very prolix in telling us that the Church is a body, and must have accordingly a Head and members subject to it! We allow all, provided Christ be the Head, and all others, both Pastors and flock, members subject to him, as it was in the Apostle's times; each one of them preached Christ—none himself—for Head. There is no record of any pretence in St. *Peter** over St. *Andrew* in *Achaia*, nor over St. *Thomas* in the

* It has been argued with good effect that either St. *Paul* or St. *John* might have been put forward as the head of the Church with much better *shew* than

*Indies*, nor over any other of the Apostles in their respective Provinces, no dependence of them upon him

What he adds of obedience due from the Flock to the Pastors is right, meaning each flock with regard to their ordinary lawful Pastors; right also, that in difficulties emergent of greater moment, a National Synod should be congregated, as that which he mentions in the United Provinces at Dort: right likewise that which the Synod of Delpht* resolved, that, though the former Synod was fallible, there was an obligation of conscience to obey the Decrees of it, as there is in all subjects to obey the orders of a lawful superior, received for such. And the Arminians having submitted to that Synod, and acknowledged it to be lawfully congregated, may well be declared to be obliged to submit to the Decrees of it, so far as not to disturb the public peace by illegal oppositions. But all this comes very short of Mr. *I. S's.* purpose, since the Reformed Churches never submitted to the Council of *Trent*, nor acknowledged it as a lawful, free, Œcumenical Council: and how could they think it to be such, when the party accused—the Pope and his Court—was to be the Judge and Supreme Arbiter of the cause? His resistance to a true, lawful, and free Council, is one cause of all the combustion and confusion which we have in Christendom.

He takes for an advantage against Scripture, that I said the reading of it made me doubt of the truth of those Articles which the Roman Church pressed upon my belief, as if it were not able to ascertain me. But I thank God and the light of his holy Word, which made me doubt of what your party would have me swallow withou tdoubt or examination; and, from the doubt, brought me to a certainty of your corruptions, and of the truth of the Primitive truly Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed in the Church of

St. Peter: see Koecheri *Observatt. Selectæ*, or Barrow *on the Supremacy*, p. 102, edit. Oxford, 1836. We have much pleasure in recommending on this subject Mr. Nugent's small treatise on *the Authority of the Roman Catholic Church*; Burton, 1839, (sold by Simpkin and Marshall, London,) as containing a dispassionate examination of the general arguments used by Romanists in support of St. Peter's presumed headship, especially those of Dr. Challoner, which are sifted with much acuteness.

* Held in 1657 for the purpose of suppressing the introduction of the principles of the Cartesian Philosophy into Religious questions: see Moshcim Cent. XVII. *Hist. of Reformed Ch.* part 2, chap. 2, §. 30.

England:—such a certainty as renders my mind quiet, and satisfied that I have the guidance of God's word for the belief proposed to me, and, consequently, a sufficient and full assurance of the truth of it.

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[We cannot refrain from adding a few lines to the foregoing, as space admits of it, from O'Sullivan's "*Guide* to an Irish Gentleman."

"'At the present day, it is by no means sufficiently considered that the Church of England occupies a very peculiar station in the Christian world, constituting as it were a species in herself.

"'The Church of Rome fetters the judgment by implicit submission to authority. Foreign branches of the Reformation give unbounded licence to the fancy, by the *unrestricted* exercise of private interpretation. But our national Church inculcates a liberal, discriminative, yet undeviating reverence for pious antiquity; a reverence alike sanctioned by reason, inspired by feeling, and recommended by authority. This principle is, in truth, our especial characteristic; a principle which has ever enabled our Church to combine discursiveness with consistency, freedom of enquiry with orthodoxy of belief, and vigorous good sense with primitive and elevated piety.

"'This happy temperament is guarded by the most safe and sober limitations. The Church of England in the first instance, and as her grand foundation, derives all obligatory matter of faith, —that is, to use her own expression, *all that is to be believed for necessity of salvation*, from the Scriptures alone; and herein she differs from the Church of Rome. But she systematically resorts to the concurrent sense of the Church Catholic, both for assistance in the interpretation of the sacred text, and for guidance in those matters of Religion which the text has left at large; and herein she differs from every other reformed communion.'*

"The Liturgy of our Church is a permanent and substantial witness. * * * * It has been not only an instrument of devotion, but also a guardian of the faith. * * * * The

* Sermons by the Rev. John Jebb, M.A.

Articles serve as warnings to mark out the space within which it is safe and profitable to have the mind employed.

"It may be said that the noble idea of a perfect system is realised in the structure of the Church of England. It has been careful of the two essential principles *permanency* and *progression*. With sufficient power of accommodation to the necessities which may arise, or the changes which may take place in society as knowledge advances, it is effectually guarded against such concession, to the caprices of a fickle people, or the circumstances of a difficult period, as might cause it to lose its distinctive character and forfeit its independent station. Against all departures from the principles of the Church, the book of Common Prayer will be 'a permanent and substantial witness;' and while each minister in the Church of England collects the lights of modern art and literature, to illustrate and recommend the sacred truths he is privileged to declare, the Liturgy, by which, in part, his mind has been formed, is a link of association with early times, and causes our Church to be at the present day, with such accommodations as altered circumstances demand, the same that it was in the times of Polycarp or Irenæus."—O'Sullivan's *Guide to an Irish Gentleman;* Chap. XVIII. The volume will amply repay the enquiring and candid reader's perusal.]

## CHAPTER VI.

*Mr.* I. S.'s *defence of the Pope's pretended Infallibility from the censure of Blasphemy, shewn to be weak and inapplicable; his particular opinion censured as heretical by his own party.*

Low indeed must the cause be sunk with our Adversary, when he would plead for a milder sentence against their error, in attributing Infallibility to the Pope. He will not have it called Blasphemy; but we may rest contented with finding it an error of any degree; for by that alone the whole structure of their tenets against us falls down. But inasmuch as mention was made of Blasphemy in their assertion, we will shew how faint is the defence which Mr. *I. S.* has prepared against that censure.

It is a wonder that one so prodigal of similar censure, as we have seen him to be in the first chapter of this Treatise—terming it a Blasphemy in me, to say that the learned men of the Church of *England* denied the *Roman* Church, as it now stands, to be a safe way to Salvation; and in the VIIIth. Chapter of his book, saying that Protestants may not without *Blasphemy* allege Scripture for their tenets:—should take so great a scandal at my saying that it is a Blasphemy to make the Pope Infallible; especially when the charge is grounded upon principles of their own authors. But it is no great wonder that Mr. *I. S.*, in opposing this censure, should not go the right way to it, nor attend to the form or force of my argument; for it is his constant custom to do so.

The Argument was *ad hominem*, grounded upon premises taken out of Authors of his own party; the *first* was, that it is a Blasphemy to attribute to a creature any of God's properties; so *Aquinas*, 2. 2. q. 13. art. 1. The second premise was, that Infallibility is an attribute of God, not communicable to any man; so the same *Aquinas*, 1 p. quæst. 16. art. 8.—These two premises being granted, the conclusion is evident, that it is a Blasphemy to attribute Infallibility to the Pope; which conclusion being contained in the two premises the truth of it must

stand or fall with *Aquinas's* authority. If Mr. *I. S.* were formal in arguing, his way to answer this argument would be, to examine whether Aquinas did really deliver the premises ascribed to him, and so come directly to my conclusion—that from principles of their own Divines, it is a Blasphemy to make the Pope Infallible.

But why should we mention *Aquinas*, and formal disputing to Mr. *I. S.?* He does not seem to be acquainted with that kind of reading or dealing—he will not be tied to their strict rules of reasoning. Now let us follow him in his own way, and see how he argues when set at liberty. He taxes me with ignorance for not knowing that God may lend his attributes to men; and the attribute of Infallibility being but passed over in a Grace, and lent to the Pope of Rome, it must not be considered a Blasphemy to ascribe it to him!

First, I inquire of this magisterial man, whether Infallibility be an attribute of God incommunicable to a mutable man, as *Aquinas* seems to say? and being so, whether it is not likely that it may *not* be lent to another, as his Omnipotency cannot, both representing an unlimited perfection? For, as Omnipotency includes a relation to infinite effects producible; so the Infallibility ascribed to the Pope for determining, without error, all questions possible to occur about Religion, seems to argue an unlimited perfection, the said questions being endless; the heavenly Preacher declaring, Eccles. vii. 29, that God having *made man upright*, he has entangled himself in *infinite questions*, which the Latin Vulgate translation delivers thus—*Hoc inveni quod fecerit Deus hominem rectum; et ipse se infinitis miscuerit quæstionibus.* And in the XIIth. Chapter, vs. 12, he says, that *of making many books there is no end.** The questions determinable being thus unlimited, the faculty relating to them for an unerring determination must be likewise unlimited, and consequently of unlimited perfection. Will he allow so much to the Pope? He challenges me often, and defies all my Divinity to answer *his* arguments. Will he give me leave to challenge once all his Sophistry, for a direct and formal solution of this Query? And whilst he is finding it, I enquire,

* Our Author's application of these texts seems to be rather fanciful and strained; and the same remark would apply occasionally elsewhere, but we have not thought it necessary always to append our dissent. The Vulgate Latin has, in the present case, made the quotations only not quite misplaced.

Secondly, Whether it be granted and allowed that God *has* lent his Infallibility to the Pope of *Rome*, to determine, without error, all questions possible occurring about Religion? Whether I have not denied resolutely that the said grant has been made; and confuted the foundations which they pretend for it, to his knowledge? And the case being so, whether it is a proper way of arguing to take for a principle against us, the conclusion in debate? Whether it be not a damnable arrogance to parallel his Pope, with the writings of holy Evangelists and Apostles, which all Christians acknowledge and reverence as unerring Oracles of God to declare his holy will to us? And lastly, Whether it be not insolence to say, that our censures upon Romanists for attributing Infallibillity to the Pope, must reflect upon the sacred organs of the Holy Ghost, who speak to us by their mouth, according to Mr. *I. S.*'s most impious pretension?

And inasmuch as I signified that the censure of Blasphemy upon a pretence to Infallibility, was taken from their own authors not of my making; as not so much concerned to aggravate their crime, so to manifest that they are absolutely in an error, I will further shew how bitter they are in censuring one another in this particular; and how little is Mr. *I. S.* assisted by his brethren in his singular way to escape!

In the College of Clermont at Paris the 12th day of December, 1661, was defended this Thesis as a Catholic assertion against the Heresy of the tenth age:—*We acknowledge Christ to be so the Head of the Church, that during his absence in Heaven, he hath delegated the government thereof, first to* Peter, *and then to his successors; and grants unto them the same Infallibility which himself had, as often as they shall speak* ex Cathedra. *There is therefore in the Church of* Rome *an Infallible Judge in Controversies of Faith, even apart from a General Council, as well in questions appertaining to right, as in matters of fact. Therefore, since the publication of the Constitutions of* Innocent X. *and* Alexander. VII. *we may believe with a Divine Faith, that the book entitled* The Augustin of Jansenius *is heretical, and the five propositions which are gathered out of it, to be* Jansenius's, *and, in the sense of* Jansenius *condemned.**

* *Christum nos ita caput Ecclesiæ agnoscimus, ut illius regimen, dum in cœlos abiit, primum* Petro, *tum deinde successoribus commiserit, et eandem quam habebat*

Here we have a celebrated authorized College of his own declaring in opposition to Mr. *I. S.'s* opinion, that the Pope even out of a General Council, is Infallible; and that he enjoys the very same Infallibility which Christ himself had: and if he is disposed to slight the Authority of this College (which may not be over safe for him to do, if he be the man who, some say, pretends to have the honour of being the author of this book) with more consideration he will find that the common opinion of the chief Schoolmen of his communion is against him; such as are Aquinas, Cajetan, Suarez, Bannez, Valentia, Malderus, Turrianus, Canus, Bellarmine,* and many others; whereof *Suarez*, *Bannez*, and *Valentia* declare Mr. *I. S.'s* opinion to be heretical, and branded as such in the Bull of Leo X. which condemns as an error of *Luther* this proposition, [§. 27.]—*Si Papa cum magnâ parte Ecclèsiæ sic vel sic sentiret, nec etiam erraret, adhuc non est peccatum, aut hæresis, contrarium sentire, præsertim in re non necessariâ ad salutem; donec fuerit per Concilium Universale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum:* and by *Sixtus* IV. in a Council of fifty-two Doctors celebrated at *Alcala* in the year 1479, *Alphonsus Carillo*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, being President in it against *Petrus de Osma;* among whose Propositions condemned as erroneous this was the 7th.—*Ecclesia Urbis Romanæ errare potest.*† Here we have

*ipse Infallibilitatem concesserit quoties ex Cathedrâ loquerentur. Datur ergò in Ecclesiâ* R. *controversiarum fidei Infallibilis Judex, etiam extra Concilium generale tum in quæstionibus juris, tum facti. Unde post* Innocentii X. *et* Alexandri VII. *constitutiones fide divinâ credi potest librum cui titulus,* Augustinus Jansenii *esse hæreticum, et quinque propositiones ex eo decerptas esse* Jansenii *et in sensu* Jansenii *damnatas.* [Vide *Collectio Judiciorum ab initio* XII *sæculi usque ad an.* 1735. *operâ* C. Du Plessis D'Argentre; tom 3. p. 302, Lutet. Paris, 1736.

* Aquin. 2, 2, qu. 1, art. 10; Cajet. *op. de authorit. Pont. et Concil.* cap. 9; Suar. d. 5. sect. 1; Ban. *in com. brevi. dub. conclu.* 3; Valen. d. 1, q. 1, punct. 7, sect. 39, et 40; Mald. dub. 5; Turri. disp. 16, dub. 1; Can. lib. 6, *de locis Theolog.* c. 7, 8; Bellar. lib. 4, de R. P. c. 2.

† See *Concil. Gen. studio Labbei,* tom xiii. col. 1465, and *Antonio Biblioth. Hispana vetus,* tom 2, p. 310. edit. 1788; the latter of which writers states:—"salubriter admonitus iis (erroribus) renunciavit, dogmatibusque catholicis adhærere se in posterum velle, ex animi sententia protestatus fuit. Rem, uti facta est, cum capitum damnatorum et abjurationis de iis factæ publici instrumenti notitia, Barth. Carranza in Summa Conciliorum prodidit."—A full account of the presumed errors is also to be seen in the *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus opera C. Du Plessis D'Argentre* (Lutet. Paris, 1724,) tom 1, pp. 288—302; from

our poor Antagonist's peculiar way of defending the Romish quarrel, declared to be heretical by Popes, and the common opinion of Popish Doctors.

Now let us consider another party of them, who censure the aforesaid position of the *Clermont* College as a horrid impiety, and a species of Idolatry: *for Idolatry*, say they, *does not consist merely in giving to man the name of* God, *but infinitely more, when we attribute to him those qualities which are peculiar to* God, *and when we render him those honours which are alone due to* Deity. *Now this entire submission of our Spirit, and of all our intellectuals comprehended in the act of our Faith, is no other than that adoration which we pay to the prime Verity itself; and therefore whosoever he be that renders it to the word of a man (whatever rank he may hold in the Church) whoever says that he believes with a Faith Divine, that which he would not believe but because a man has affirmed it, does in effect put man in the place of* God, *transfers to the creature that which is due to the* Creator *alone, and makes (as far as in him lies) a kind of idol of the Vicar of Jesus Christ.* And a little after they declare it to be formal Blasphemy in these words: *But is it possible to offer a greater affront to the Prime Minister of Jesus Christ, than to conceive that they are doing him honour by a Blasphemy, so injurious to Jesus Christ? that he should suffer them to equal him with his Master, by ascribing to him the same Infallibility which he alone possesses? and that men should render that supreme* Cultus *of a Divine Faith to his words, which is due only to the word of God?*

Thus far the party opposed to the Parisian Doctors in their Declaration against the aforementioned Thesis of *Clermont* College, which was presented to all the Bishops of France, and is now extant in the hands of many both in French and English.

And if the reason exhibited for their censure be well considered, we shall find it to comprehend Mr. *I. S.'s* opinion, no less than that of the *Clermont* Jesuits; since both the one and the other ground the pretended Infallibility of their Church upon the Pope's Authority, whether in a Council or out of it: and thus the reason

which it would appear that the accused, in several points, approximated to the doctrines of the Reformed Churches.

of the Parisian Divines concludes, in either case, that it is a Blasphemy injurious to Jesus Christ, to ascribe to the Pope *that* Infallibility which Christ alone possesses, and that men should render that supreme *Cultus* of Divine Faith to the words of the Pope, which is due to the word of God alone.

The allegations of our Adversary in favour of obedience due to the Church as to Christ, and of promises made of the assistance of the Holy Ghost to the Apostles, and the Church governed by them, will appear very impertinent to his purpose in favour of the Pope and his faction, when we come to examine the texts alleged, for which I will assign the Chapter following.

In the mean time we may conclude from what has been said in this Chapter, that, to ascribe Infallibility to the Pope is Blasphemy even in the opinion of Popish Doctors; and Mr. *I. S.'s* peculiar way of defending that tenet demonstrated to be heretical by Doctors of his own party: which was my present undertaking. To which may be added the opinion of Mr. *Thomas White* of the same communion, whose whole book, called his *Tabulæ Suffragiales*,* is purposely directed against this doctrine of the *Pope's personal Infallibility*, affirming it to be not merely *heretical*, but *Archi-heretical;* and that *the propagating of this doctrine is, in its kind, a most grievous sin:* so weary are men of learning and parts beginning to grow of this intolerable arrogance of the Roman Church or Court, and of their flatterers.

* *Tabul. Suffrag.* cap. 19, 20, 21. [This Author's *Tabulæ Suffragiales de terminandis fidei litibus*, was published in London 1655. He was carefully educated in the Faith of the Church of Rome, and was ordained Priest at *Arras* in 1617. He spent the greater part of his life in teaching Divinity at *Douay*, but did not by any means escape the reproofs and castigations of his Church; "he had several quarrels both with the Clergy and religious of his own Communion, who attacked his works with great fury," (Dod. 3. 286.) and the publication noticed by Dr Sall was condemned by Innocent X. In short, he exercised the right of Private Judgment upon the doctrine of Prayers for the dead, and the Authority of the Inquisition; and "exposed at the same time the methods and ignorance of the Cardinals and Divines, who were sometimes employed in censuring books; and hinted how unlikely it was, that his Holiness either would or could delegate his power to such kind of inferior Courts." But at last he was induced to perform an act of submission, and died in London in 1676. See Dod's *Church History*, 3. p. 285; and D'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum*, (Paris, 1786) tom 3, p. 294.]

## CHAPTER VII.

*Our Adversary's corruption of Scripture detected.*

OUR Adversary certainly never looked into the Bible for the Texts which he alleges in support of the Infallibility of his Church, bnt has snatched them out of some of his old Controvertists, whose custom it is to cut and clip Scripture to their own pretences, without regard of their true meaning. Or if he has seen them, with their contexts, he has been strangely dull, in not discerning the right sense of them, very obvious to any ordinary good understanding; or malicious in misrepresenting the meaning of them. This is especially perceivable in his allegation of these words, John xv. 26. *When the Paraclete will come, whom I will send from my Father, the Spirit of truth, he will give testimony of me, and ye shall give testimony.* This he will have us take for a certain testimony of the Holy Ghost's assistance promised to *his* Church. If he had but looked at the half verse immediately following, which he left out, or his Tutors cut off, he would find that these words were spoken to the Apostles, with circumstances rendering them impossible to be applied to his Church. The verse restored to its integrity says thus—*And ye also shall bear witness because ye have been with me from the beginning.* What man in his senses would think those words applicable to the Council of *Trent?* Were the Fathers of that Council with Christ from the beginning? Was the Holy Ghost not yet descended?

He further confirms his opinion out of *Acts* xv. 28, where the Council of the Apostles and Elders at *Jerusalem* assembled for deciding the controversy concerning Circumcision, deliver their opinion thus: *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,* signifying that the Holy Ghost was assisting them; and that grounded on the words aforesaid of our Saviour, John xv. 26, *When the Paraclete is come he shall give testimony of me, and you shall give testimony of me.* If that be the ground of the Apostles' phrase, we have seen before to whom that promise was

given, whether to the Apostles alone, or the Bishops of Rome—to be, for ever. We have seen that the text in its integrity cannot be applied to the latter: but Mr. *I. S.* of his own authority declares that that promise was made by Christ, not only to the Apostles, but to the Roman Church for ever.

And in order to make this latter text sound something like to his purpose, he patches it up with a fragment of a verse taken from Matt. xxviii.—*Until the consummation of the world.* This customary art of theirs, of cutting from the texts what is against their purpose, and patching them up with other words far-fetched, that may have a gloss or appearance favourable to their pretension, may be practised with more safety in conversation, or in a sermon addressed to a popular auditory, than in a serious debate by print exposed to a strict examination. This is a cheat like that used in *Italy* with rotten apples, to set them out for sound ones. They cut off the rotten pieces, and glue together the sound fragments so as to present an appearance of a fair apple; but being handled closely it falls in pieces and discovers the cheat. This abominable *Legerdemain* is too often discernible in Romish Pulpits, where they father upon the Gospel forsooth most execrable Blasphemies, extolling their several new saints (to whom they would gain devotion, and, by that devotion, money to their coffers) above the Apostles, above the Angels, above Christ and all that is in Heaven; to the perpetual scandal of the discreet part of their own flock, and edification of none. All is sanctified with them, by repeating at the end of every desperate discourse, some words of the Gospel, as a burden of the song, though with no reference in its sense to their purpose. This is the art which Mr. *I. S.* practises in the testimony quoted of Acts xv. respecting the assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council at Jerusalem, and grounded, as he confesses, upon the aforesaid text of John xv. 26, but shewn to relate only to the Apostles then present; though Mr. *I. S.* of his own head will have it extended to the Roman Church for ever; and his interpretation must be taken for Canonical Scripture, by closing it up with this fragment of the 20th verse of Matthew xxviii. *until the consummation of the world!*

The text which he corrupts and cuts off (Matt. xxviii. 20) contains a promise of Christ to the Apostles and Church founded, and the Faith preached by them, that he will assist them for ever,

saying, *I am with you all the days, until the consummation of the world.* St. Jerom better than Mr. *I. S.* will explain to us the meaning of these words; glossing thus upon them—*qui usque ad consummationem seculi cum discipulis se futurum esse promittit, et illos ostendit semper esse victuros, et se nunquam à credentibus recessurum.* In these words our Saviour promises to his disciples life everlasting; and to the Church founded by them, and to all true believers in him, his perpetual assistance. This assistance of Christ to his own true Church, while following the steps and doctrine of the Apostles, we believe with joy, but cannot approve the arrogancy of Mr. *I. S.* and his brethren in appropriating all such promises to their own faction, and perpetually taking for granted in his debates with us, *that* to be the only Church to be favoured by such gracious promises, being indeed but a very corrupt member of the Church Universal, to whom these promises were made; a thing which we do not assert merely but prove evidently.

Another example of their skill in clipping and corrupting Scripture, he fetches out of the same store-house, upon the words of John xiv. 16, *I will pray the Father and he will give you another Comforter, the Spirit of truth, that will abide with you for ever, who will lead you into all truth.* I made their abuse of this text plain by restoring it to its integrity, which according to their own Bible runs in these words—*If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will ask my Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive.* By the first words we see this to be a conditional promise, limited to such as love God and keep his commandments; by the latter words, worldly and sinful men are expressly excluded from receiving that gracious assistance of the Spirit of truth: for which meaning of these words I referred to the Gloss interlineal and ordinary.*

* Vide Sermon, p. 32, supra.—

*Strabo*, a Monk of Fulda, and scholar of Rabanus, Archbp. of Mayence, was the chief author of the *Glossa ordinaria.* It deserves rather the name of a Commentary than a Gloss. The *interlined Gloss* consists of words added to the text of the Bible to make it more intelligible; and is so called because it is inserted between the lines of the text. *Critical Hist. of the Old Test. by Father Simon* (Lond. 1682) bk. 3, pp. 73, 4 where more.

That discourse our Adversary opposes thus: that after the former clause—*If you love me, keep my commandments*, there is a stop, and then follows a distinct verse, *and I will ask my Father, and he will give you another Paraclete*, &c. which makes an absolute sense independent of the former. This is indeed a subtilty well becoming a Sophister; as if a stop may not be interposed between several clauses of one discourse tending to the same end; or between premises and a conclusion deduced from them; as if the copulative particle *and* did not signify a conjunction of both clauses, and an influence of the one upon the other; as if all *that* were not cleared by the words which I quoted in the margin of the Gloss interlineal—*Mundus*, i.e. *remanens amator mundi, cum quo nunquam est amor Dei;* and of the Gloss ordinary, *non habent spirituales oculos quibus Spiritum Sanctum videant mundi amatores.* Here we see both Glosses denying the effect of that glorious promise to profane worldlings, and consequently that promise is made only to lovers of God, and keepers of his holy commandments. If our Adversary were ingenuous, he would spare his silly subtilties, perceiving them obstructed by this stating of the case.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Mr.* I. S's. *horrible impiety against the sacred Apostles, and malicious imposing on the Church of* England *reprehended.*

ANOTHER grand argument which he brings forward, and which he affirms resolutely I can never answer, is this—that if the aforesaid promise, John xiv. 16, was conditional, as above-mentioned, it follows, that we cannot be sure that the Gospel is Infallible; *whereas no text of Scripture,* (says he, page 89) *tells us that the Evangelists were in a state of Grace when they wrote the Gospel, nor nothing else gives us assurance of it.*

My first answer to this *unanswerable* argument is, that if this man had delivered this expression in *Spain,* and had been accused to the Inquisition, his body would have suffered for it, if his intellect were not reduced to acknowledge and repent the horrid impiety of it. And I am certainly persuaded that there is no Christian, who has any sense of piety in him, whether Protestant or Papist, but will exclaim with horror against the insolent impiety of this man, in speaking so irreverently of those sacred organs of the Holy Ghost and blessed Disciples of Christ, confirmed by him in grace, as is the common apprehension and expression of Christians, and replenished with the Holy Ghost (Acts ii. 4); for whose perseverance in grace our Saviour prayed so fervently to his heavenly Father, as we see in John xvii. 11, *Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me.* Upon which words *Maldonate** delivers this

* John Maldonate, a Spanish Jesuit. In 1563 he commenced teaching Theology at Paris, whither he had been brought to arrest, if possible, the progress of Reform; a situation which he occupied for ten years, and according to Miræus, utterly routed the Calvinist Ministers, "disserendo et declamitando." We can easily believe this, when some of his instructions, as published in his Commentaries upon the four Evangelists, are taken into consideration; specimens of which were submitted to the public by Mr. M'Ghee, in his speech on Maynooth College, April, 1839. Miræus indeed is loud in his praises of these "most erudite" Commentaries; and affirms that they were well suited to convince heretics—"ad docendum et convincendum Hæreticos aptum atque robustum." The Author died in 1583. Miræi *Scripp. Sæc.* xvi, p. 248.

Gloss:—*Non rogat Christus ut nunc à peccatis liberentur, sed ut jam liberati in eo statu quo erant conserventur, ne quis ab eâ decidat gratiâ, quam consecutus suo erat beneficio, quemadmodum* Judæ *contigerat—that our Saviour prayed for their perseverance in grace, that none of them should fall from it as* Judas *did.* And will this rash man say, that the prayer of our Saviour was not heard, nor his request granted by his heavenly Father, in favour of his beloved Disciples? If he will not be so profligately impious, how dares he say that no text of Scripture tells us, *that the Evangelists were in the state of Grace, when they wrote the Gospel, nor nothing else gives us assurance of it?* If his book contained no other crime than this unchristian expression, any true disciple of Christ, and believer of his Gospel, ought to judge the said book more worth the burning than the reading.

He is not, however, contented with the damnable expression aforementioned, but must raise his censure against the truth of the Gospel of Christ to a higher degree, p. 89, saying, *that not only we are not sure of the Infallibility of the Gospel, but that we are assured it is not infallible;* and this horrible Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and the Gospel dictated by him, he must father upon the Protestant Church; but upon a deduction so much of his own fabrication, that any dispassionate man, and not blind, will perceive the whole assertion to be his own, and the product of a disposition, which appears both here and in many other places, inclined for destroying the foundations of all Christian belief [rather than endanger the authority of his Church.]

The ground which he gives for this latter most damnable Blasphemy is, that the common doctrine of the Protestant Church maintains, *That it is impossible to keep God's commandments;**

Alegambe makes use of the same exalted terms in speaking of his Brother; and his language in describing the Mission into France is quite warlike—"Primus ille Sociorum ex illâ celebri Parisiensis Academiæ specula bellicum cecinit, in campum descendit, in aciem prodiit, manum cum hoste conseruit." p. 474, *Scripp. Soc. Jesu;* edit. 1676.

* This assertion may be taken in two senses—*that* to which reference is made by I. S. may perhaps be explained in the following words of Calvin,—

"Quod autem impossibilem Legis observationem diximus, id est paucis verbis explicandum simul et confirmandum. Solet enim vulgo absurdissima sententia videri: ut Hieronymus non dubitavit anathema illi denuntiare.

therefore, says he, *The Evangelists when they wrote did not keep God's commandments, and consequently they could not have the Paraclete to lead them into truth.* I never yet heard any Protestant deliver such a desperate proposition as what he fathers upon them, which thus delivered categorically, without

———————Video quidem quales nobis sanctos imaginetur stulta superstitio, quorum scilicet puritati vix cœlestes angeli respondeant: sed repugnante tum Scripturæ, tum experientiæ ratione. Dico item neminem posthac futurum, qui ad veræ perfectionis metam perventurus sit, nisi corporis mole solutus. In hanc rem primum suppetunt aperta Scripturæ testimonia, 1 Reg. viii. 46; Ps. cxliii. 2; Epist. ad Gal. v. 17; iii. 10." *Institutt.* lib. 2, cap. 7, §. 5.

Or a still better explanation is furnished by Dr. Whitaker:—

"Jam vero hoc Papistæ docent et credunt, posse nimirum Legem ab hominibus servari. Hoc patet ex *Conc. Trident.* Ses. 6, cap. xi. Et quanquam recentiores quidam Papistæ distinctione quandam hanc sententiam mitigare conantur, dum aiunt posse â nobis Legem servari pro statu hujus vitæ: tamen Tridentini Patres hujus modi rationem proponunt, quâ legem simpliciter et perfecte a nobis servari posse probant. Aiunt enim impiam esse sententiam, Deum impossibilia præcipere. Ergo Lex secundum ipsos etiam perfecte impleri potest, et non tantum pro statu hujus vitæ. Imo adjungunt Papistæ, non tantum Legem à nobis impleri posse, verum etiam (quod execrandum est) amplius quiddam et excellentius posse præstare, quam quod Lex requirit. Unde nata sunt illorum opera supererogatoria, et hinc thesaurus ille Indulgentiarum, quas *Conc. Trident.* in summo pretio habet quemadmodum patet in ejusdem Conc. Sess. 21, cap. 9 *Controv.* 2, *quæst.* 6, *cap.* 3, p. 563, *Oper. tom* 1.

But there seems no valid reason for being angry with *Calvin* in particular, as the language here used has reference to, and had as usual been long employed in, the Pelagian controversy. See Augustin, *de grat. et lib. arbit.* cap. 16.

It might perhaps have rendered such a statement less open to misunderstanding, if the word *inability* had been used; but let the reader see the, as usual, excellent Chapter of Rivet's *Cath. Orthod.* tract 4, quæst. 5, where quotations are made (§. 2) from eminent writers generally reckoned as Members of the Church of Rome, though not Tridentines, supportiug the same doctrine upon this subject as the Reformed Churches held:—Pergit adversarius et objicit multos sanctos viros servâsse mandata. Urget præsertim quod de Zacharia et Elizabetha dicitur (Luc. i. 6) *erant* ambo *justi, ante Deum incedentes in omnibus mandatis*, &c. Hoc loco abusus est Pelagius, quum interpretatione Ambrosii corroborare voluit, ut probaret hominem in hac vitâ, sine peccato esse posse. Respondeat ergo pro nobis Augustinus novis Pelagianis. *Dictum est* inquit *(de gratia Dei contra Pelag.* lib. 1, cap. 48) *quantum mihi videtur, secundum quandam conversationem inter homines probabilem atque laudabilem * * * Non autem dictum est hoc, secundum illam perfectionem justitiæ in qua* VERE *atque* OMNINO IMMACULATI *perfectique vivemus. Nam et Apostolus Paulus dixit, secundum justitiam, quæ ex lege est, se fuisse sine querela. In qua Lege etiam Zacharias sine querela conversabatur. Sed hanc Apostolus justitiam in stercoribus et detrimentis deputat, in comparatione justitiæ speramus, et quam nunc esurire et sitire debemus, ut eâ quandoque saturemur in specie, quæ nunc est in fide, quamdiu justus ex fide vivit."*

further declaration or limitation, is equivalent to saying that it is impossible for any man to be saved; our Saviour having often declared, that the only way to life evelasting is to keep God's commands. It were also to give the lie to our Redeemer, saying that *his yoke is easy and his burden is light,* Matt. xi. 30; and that *his commandments are not grievous,* 1 John v. 3. If he is acquainted with any Protestant writer who has made such a statement and with that latitude, why does he not tell me who he is, and where he says it, that I may judge accordingly of the author and of the doctrine? Must I take it upon his credit, having so much experience of the untruth of his references? *That* he must not expect from me. I suppose he found this doctrine, which he declares to be common in the Protestant Church, where he found me saying, *that there is no salvation in the Catholic Church;* as he does most impudently impose upon me in his Dedicatory Epistle to my Lord Lieutenant. This is their ordinary way of working in their proselytes an abhorrence of their opposers, viz. by impostures and calumnies. Of their calumny in this particular, learned *Le Blanc* complains, and affirms thus in behalf of Protestants—*cum Scriptura dicimus et docemus fideles Dei mandata per Christi gratiam servare,* &c. *Thesi* 26 and 27, *de Observant. Leg.—We say and teach with the Scripture, that the faithful do keep the commandments of God by the grace of Christ.*

Let not our Sophister think to appease my just indignation against him, or to escape the censure that I pass upon him, as a blasphemous contemner of the Gospel of Christ and the sacred writers of it—the blessed Evangelists—by saying that he does not himself assert the aforesaid affronts which he puts on the Gospel and the Evangelists; but that he infers them from positions of the Protestant Church. The whole doctrine and belief of the Protestant Church is contained in the Canonical Scriptures and in the XXXIX Articles of the Church of *England.* We are not in that confusion and uncertainty regarding the object of our belief that he and his party are, between so many articles daily coined, one overthrowing the other. In what place of Canonical Scripture, or of the aforesaid XXXIX Articles did he find this proposition, which he affirms is the common doctrine of the Church of England—*that it is impossible to keep God's commandments?*

which being all the ground he shews for this blasphemous assertion, *that we are assured the Evangelists, when they wrote the Gospel, were not in the love of God and observance of his commandments, and by that are assured the Gospel is not infallible;* the said ground, I say, not being to be found in any place of the aforementioned Rule and Canon of our belief; I must conclude the assertion pretended to flow from it, to be of *his own* invention and *his own* sentiment. Let this therefore be known to be his tenet and assertion, to his eternal infamy, *that we are sure the Evangelists, when they wrote the Gospel, were not in the state of grace;—that we are sure the Gospel is not infallible.* A person who is found with a stolen horse, is to be regarded as the thief till he has proved that he received it lawfully from another. We find that execrable Blasphemy in the mouth of *I. S.* Let him be taken and punished as the author of it (if any just Inquisition find him) since he can find no other author for it.

But all his Sophistry will not afford him even the least colour of excuse for the former part of his assertion, for which he will not be beholden to any other author, but delivers it for a document of his own—*that no text of Scripture tells us, that the Evangelists were in the state of grace, when they wrote the Gospel, nor any thing else gives us assurance of it.* Ask any boy in *Spain* or *Flanders*, even meanly catechised, whether he was not taught by his Curate and Parents, that the Apostles, by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, were confirmed in grace, and whereby we are assured that they never lost it after. And in case our adversary should gain by some pictures or medals the votes of the boys in his favour; other Doctors we have whom he shall not so easily gain to his side, who affirm that the sacred Apostles, after receiving the Holy Ghost, were so confirmed in grace, that no human power or temptation could make them fail in their fidelity to God. St. Augustine (for one) thus delivers his opinion (Homil. 9. de Missione Spiritus Sancti.*)—*Ante adventum vero Spiritus Sancti sub ipso crucis Dominicæ tempore, alii ex discipulis effugantur, alii unius Ancillæ voce*

* [This Homily is placed among the supposititious in the Benedictine Edition of Augustin (Paris, 1683) tom v. col. 307, where it is headed *Sermo* 182 (alias *de tempore* 185) §. 4.]

*terrentur, et metu corda trepida penetrante Dominum suum negare coguntur. Post illustrationem vero Spiritus Sancti et confirmationem, custodiis excruciati, verberibus afflicti, ibant gaudentes, quia digni essent pro Christi nomine contumeliam pati—That the Apostles, so frail before, as to run from their Master and deny him, at the instance of a girl, after being confirmed in grace, by receiving the Holy Ghost, were so constant in suffering imprisonment and scourges, that they rejoiced at being worthy of suffering for Christ.* The same doctrine of the Apostles being confirmed in grace by the coming of the Holy Ghost upon them, so that they were by God's special protection preserved from falling from it all their life, though otherwise peccable, is delivered by other Fathers and Schoolmen also.* And with all this force of testimony from Scripture, Fathers and Divines, in favour of the sacred Apostles having been confirmed in grace and preserved in it all their life, how comes our Adversary to assert, that we have no assurance of their being in the state of Grace when they wrote the Gospel? Did they not write it after the Holy Ghost had descended upon them? Which shall we wonder at most, his ignorance or his impiety?

Truly he has given such testimony of both in this his undertaking, rebuked in this Chapter, that we might very well bid him farewell here and leave him, as unworthy of any farther reply. But whereas he may meet with readers so short-sighted as not to take notice of absurdities and offences even of this size, we will continue yet, helping them to find out gross errors and crimes in his writing.

* Tertullian *contra Praxeam, de Præscript. cap.* 22: [see Forbesii *Instruct. historico-theol.* lib. 4, cap. 4, §. 10.] Leo Magnus *Ser.* 2, *de Pentecost.* Gregor. Papa, *Homil.* 30 *in Evang.* Chrysostom *Homil.* 4 *in Acta Apost.* [§. 2, tom ix. p. 43, Paris, 1837.] Bernard *Ser. in Fest. Pentecostes.* Aquinas qu. 24, *de Veritate,* art. 9, ad 2. Justinianus *disput.* 1, *ex præviis in Paulum,* c. 5, nu. 7. Corn. à Lap. ad c. 2, *Actor. vers.* 3.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Our Adversary's pretension to Prescription and Miracles, in favour of the Infallibility of his Church, rejected; his impositions on me and on the Church of* England *discovered further.*

Our Sophister finding but little right from Scripture, or reason, for the pretended Infallibility of his Church, appeals to the title of Prescription—that they have been a long time in the possession of this prerogative, and ought not to be disturbed now in the use of it. Here he is preparing a defence for thieves and robbers. If they have our goods a long time in their possession, we must leave them to such possession, and not disturb them in the use of them. The Turk is hereby justified in his possession of the Holy Land, and other dominions of Christian Princes whom he has robbed. The attempt of the said Princes to dispossess this robber is unjust, according to Mr. *I. S.*'s Logic. In it he could not find this rule of Law, *Quæ ab initio sunt male constituta, tempore non convalescunt*—that *what was unlawful in the beginning, grows not by continuance lawful:* nor this other, *Non debet quis commodum reportare ex crimine—none ought to find an advantage in guilt for his defence.* An unjust usurper, by a continuance of his usurpation, is rendered rather more guilty than excusable. We have shewn by evident proofs, that the pretension of the Roman Church to Infallibility was, and is still, an unjust usurpation; a robbery of a privilege belonging unto God and his holy Scripture; communicated to the Apostles, the founders of the Christian Religion, and to the Church truly Catholic and Universal, maintaining the doctrine and belief which Christ and his Apostles left to us; *not* to that factious party devoted to the Pope of Rome, which Mr. *I. S.* would have us take for the only Church, committing in all his discourses a perpetual Solecism against the laws of a Disputant, which is, to take for granted the subject in debate, which is constantly denied to them. But *his* Logic will not take notice of these niceties.

Now therefore to accuse us that we are disturbing them in the possession of their Infallibility, is like the complaint of a certain gentleman against a merchant, who called on him for an old debt. He ranted and swore that he was a troublesome companion, for importuning for the payment of a debt of so many years standing, as if it were but of yesterday; though his delay in paying it, was an increase of his guilt. The retaining of another man's goods, as well as the taking them away against his will, is robbery. Thus it is in our case; the pretension of the Roman faction to Infallibility was a robbery from the beginning, an imposition upon mankind, as I have proved; and the continuance of it is an increase of their guilt. Why will Mr. *I. S.* make this *increase* of their guilt an *excuse* of it? Besides, to say that his Church was in all ages in peaceable possession of this prerogative of Infallibility, as he does (p. 76*) is a wide mistake; and as he asserts it without proof, he must be contented with a bare denial for an answer, while we leave him to look after any pertinent testimony of the Fathers for the first 300, nay, for 1000 years, suitable to his purpose; which he shall never find.

In the 7th Chapter of his book, p. 102. he falls abruptly upon the old armory of Miracles in favour of his Church. At this I could not but wonder, having seen him (p. 181) engaging his whole Logic against the power of Miracles for producing in men a saving Divine faith; *for*, said he, *either they are only probable, or evident; if probable only, they are not proportionable to give us that certainty required for Divine Faith; if evident absolutely they can be no motive of Faith, which is of its own nature obscure.* In this piece of Logic he gives a clear testimony of his Impiety and Ignorance—*Impiety*, in attempting to weaken that strong foundation of Christian belief, derived from the glory of Miracles, for which I remit him to what he alleges himself, from the aforesaid p. 102—*Ignorance*, in pretending that an obscure conclusion may not be deduced from an evident premise. To prove *notum per ignotius*, a conclusion clear by a premise or *Medium* more obscure, is a known fault in argument; but to prove by an evident Medium a conclusion obscure, is a fault in

* "The true Church was in all ages in peaceable possession of this prerogative of Infallibility, never denied to her, but by some few condemned Heretics." *I. S.*, p. 76.

arguing never heard of yet before Mr. *I. S.'s* Logic. By this Canon he makes the belief of Martha to be indiscreet, who seeing the resurrection of her brother, and other Miracles which our Saviour wrought, concluded—*I believe that thou art the Christ the Son of God*, (John xi. 27.) The Miracle was evident, but the generation of Christ from his heavenly Father obscure; *And who shall declare his generation?* (Isa. liii. 8.)

Having thus helped him against himself, for rendering Miracles a congruous way to find out true Religion, I gladly accept the challenge to a trial of our Religion by them. Our Religion, or the object of our necessary belief, is only what is contained in the word of God by Canonical Scripture. In favour of this belief, we have all the Miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament. Their Religion as opposite to ours, and differing from us, consists of those articles in debate, which have been introduced by the Roman Church*—Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Worship of Images, &c. Will he for shame pretend, that the stock of Romances, produced by them for these innovations, is fit to be compared with the store of glorious miracles which we have in behalf of our Divine and truly Infallible Belief, contained in holy Scripture? While we shew his new Belief to be contrary to this Divine Faith, confirmed by Miracles of Infallible Truth (as we do,) let him keep to himself his new-coined wonders, and remember that God is not contrary to himself, in putting his seal to contrary laws. And if he must believe some of the wonders† which he proposes, let Lessius and others‡ help him to understand

* The doctrines, which are peculiar to the Modern Church of Rome, were made articles of Faith by the Council of Trent in the 16th. Century;—it is not quite correct to say of many of them, that they were "introduced" by the Roman Church, as they were taught and held very generally, but not *enforced* upon the Church as matters *necessary* to be believed.

† In the present aspect of affairs there seems to be sufficient reason for here referring such persons as can avail themselves of it, to Professor Zimmerman's Treatise, *De Miraculis Pythagoræ—Franc. Assisio Dominico, et Ignatio Loyolæ tribuitur libellus.* It was published both under an assumed name—*Phileleutherus Helveticus*—and an assumed place, *Duaci*, 1734. The Crevenna Catalogue attributes it to Zimmerman; and we might quote from it matter suitable to the present work without limit—but must leave it, though not without referring as a good substitute, to Mr. Southey's *Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl. or Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.* pp. 124—210.

‡ Leonardus Lessius, born in Brabant in 1554, entered into the Jesuit Order in 1572, where he laid the foundation for those varied qualities, for which he

what to make of those Miracles or wonders which Valerius Maximus, Titus Livius, and other Roman historians relate to have been wrought in favour of their temples and heathenish Superstitions; and let him not expect from me that I should bestow time in examining the truth or falsehood of all his impertinent allegations.

In the same 7th Chapter, from p. 126, he fastens on me two notorious calumnies; first, that having left the Roman Church, I fixed upon no other to which I wished to belong; the second, that I said none may be saved in the Roman Church. The falsehood of the former has been manifested by my public Declaration for the *Church of England;* the untruth of the latter I shewed in the 2nd Chapter of this Treatise, whereby all his verbosity upon this subject appears to be a fret of his malice;—without any real ground, without shame often to tax me with, and repeat his frivolous exclamations, yet never shewing where or when I really did say, what indeed I never either said or wrote—*that there is*

became so eminent in after life, viz. in taking menial offices upon himself, in sweeping the streets *(in compitis purgandis,)* and in a variety of similar conquests over self. He was afterwards sent for to Rome, and having enjoyed the advantage of attending the Theological Lectures of Francis Suarez, entered himself upon the same course at Louvain, where he taught for fifteen years with great eclât. He conducted himself with considerable moderation, temperance, and humility, so much so that even late in life it was his custom to make his own bed, and sweep his chamber *(ipsi sibi vel in extremâ ætate lectum sternebat, cubiculum verrebat.)*—He had to struggle with a bad state of health, which greatly exercised his patience; but such was his humble, pleasant, sweet, serious and pious behaviour, that others were disposed to virtue by his example:—suffice it to say, that he spent much time in prayer, and used to recite the Litany of our Lady of Loretto daily, in the hope of obtaining her patronage, as a most certain passport to Immortality: *(Litanias Laurettanas quotidie recitabat honori Magnæ Matris, cujus Clientelam certissimam esse salutis arrham non ambigebat)* to which he added Supplications for the Conversion of England to the true Faith; and after contending long with a variety of ailments, died at last at Louvain in 1623, aged 69.

Lessius, from the extended account of him given by Alegambe, appears to have been one of the more eminent in the Society of Jesus, and as such we have been more copious in our notice of him.

His works were collected into 2 vols. folio, Antverpiæ, 1626-30: Vide *Biblioth. Scripp. Soc. Jesu.* p. 550-2, edit. 1676; where there are several other instances given of his wonderful humility, and childish superstition, though with outbreaks at times of something superior—a mixture not uncommon even in the present day, and very misleading, especially if it makes its appearance in non-Romish quarters!

*no Salvation in the Roman Catholic Religion.* With the same confidence, and the like untruth, he repeats—*that it is the constant doctrine of the Church of* England, *that the* Romish Religion *is a saving Religion, or a* safe *way to Salvation!* which is what we deny.*

Let the reader reflect upon what I adduced in the beforementioned 2nd Chapter of this treatise, and see the confusion of this man's intellect, in not understanding, or delivering distinctly our sentiments, according to our own expressions; or the corruption of his mind, in deceiving wilfully his reader, especially when he himself (p. 133) alleges Dr. *Stillingfleet*, comparing both Churches—the *Romish* to a *leaky ship*, wherein a man *may* be saved (but with great danger and difficulties); and the Protestant to a sound ship, wherein one may be saved without hazard. This is the utmost courtesy or charity that may be, and is, extended to them. Is this to say that the Romish Church is a *safe* way to Salvation? Is it *safe* to venture in a *leaky Ship* upon a stormy sea?—But what says he to the streams of learned Authors in the Protestant Church, whose sentiments Dr. Stillingfleet quotes, and of the very learned book which he himself wrote, and in which he proves with irrisistible argument, that the Romish Church, in several of her tenets and practices, is guilty of Idolatry? Is *Idolatry* one of those *pious opinions* which matters not for salvation? And let Mr. *I. S.* know, that I considered long, and examined thoroughly the doctrine of the Church of *England*, before I declared for it, and he may then spare his labour in catechising me in the tenets of it.†

* "Supposing the Church of *England* did hold a possibility of Salvation in the Church of *Rome*, and the Church of *Rome* did deny a possibility of Salvation in the Church of *England*—it would no more follow that therefore it were *safe* or *prudent* for a man to leave our Church, to go to theirs, than it would follow, that it were most safe or prudent for a man to go out of a healthy or uninfected place into a *Pest-house*, upon the *bare affirmation* of those in the *Pest-house* that a man could be safe no where else; together with a concession of those that are not in the *Pest-house* that there was a possibility that some that were in the *Pest-house* might perhaps, though with much difficulty and danger, escape the being mortally infected even there also." *A conference between Father Darcy*, &c. p. 7. *in several treatises by George* [Morley] *Bp. of Winton;* 4to. London, 1683.

† It may not be without use to remark here, how often Dr. Sall has afforded evidence of the very different mode taken by him for ascertaining the claims, by enquiring into the true principles, of that Church which he afterwards joined,

and which he so ably defends, to what was adopted by a well known Rev. Gent. in the present day, a member of a family of distinction, who admitted to the Editor on occasion of an interview, that he had joined the Roman Church, without having first examined the Canons and Decrees of that Church, viz. those of the Council of Trent; and yet he maintains that she must be the Primitive Church of Christ--the one only Catholic and Apostolic Church, and clings to his delusion with the most superstitious devotion; and like another worshipper of the Virgin (Lessius just now noticed) prays for the Conversion of England to this faith!!

## CHAPTER X.

*A Check to Mr.* I. S.'s *insolent Thesis prefixed as a title to the 8th Chapter of his book*—That the Protestant Church is not the Church of Christ, nor any part of it; that they cannot without Blasphemy allege Scripture for their tenets—*and his own argument retorted to prove, that the Roman Church is not the Church of Christ.*

UNDER so pregnant and promising a title as this—*that the Protestant Church is not the Church of Christ, nor any part of it; that they cannot without Blasphemy allege Scripture for their tenets,* &c., and that in a book presented to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland,* the Earl of *Essex:*—under so magnificent a title, I say, exposed to the view of so great and judicious a person, who would not expect a very exquisite discourse to follow upon so stout an undertaking? And, behold reader, what Mr. *I. S.* presents to his Excellency for that purpose.*

For a foundation of his discourse, he will have us premise, that Protestants do allow Papists not to err in Fundamental Points of Salvation—that our differences with them are about points not *fundamental.* He does not seem to regard or know which are these points; which is a bad beginning for being exact and clear in the present engagement. But he is to suppose with Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Potter, and other learned writers of both

[* Another antagonist of *I. S.* writes of him and his proceeding, in a very similar strain; and both quite suitably to some modern *Answers, Replies,* &c.

"I was somewhat surprised to see a person who would be noted for his valour in assaulting *Protestant* writers, steal so behind the main bulk and design of my book; and when he had gotten two single pages by themselves, fall upon them with as much pomp and ostentation, as if he had attacked the whole. And this must be noised abroad as an *Answer* to me by the same figure that his arguments are called demonstrations, which is by an *Hyperbole* unfit for any, but such *who never flag below the sphere of Science* in their own judgments, though they seem not to come near to it in others." Stillingfleet's *Reply* to this same J. Sergeant's third Appendix—Stillingfleet's Works, vol. IV. p. 626.]

Churches,* following therein the common opinion of Fathers and Schoolmen, that the points *fundamental*, or of necessary belief to Salvation and to the constitution of a true Christian Church, are those contained in the Apostles' Creed; which is a system or summary of Articles which those sacred Founders of Christianity thought fit and sufficient to be proposed to all men, where the Gospel was preached, and necessary to be explicitly believed; so as the Council of Trent calls it *Fundamentum firmum et unicum* (Sess. 3), not the *firm* alone, but the *only Foundation*. *Points not fundamental*, or inferior truths are all other Divine Verities contained in the word of God, whether written in Canonical Scripture, or delivered to us by Apostolical Universal Tradition, implicitly contained in the Creed, where we profess to believe in God, and in the Catholic Church; and explicitly to be believed when we should be certified that they are contained in those Oracles of God;—called *inferior* truths, not that they are of less certainty, and objective Infallibility in themselves, than the others called *fundamental;* but because the explicit knowledge of them is not so necessary or obvious to all men; and ignorance of them, and errors about them, are consequently, in many men more admissible and less culpable; and because the Roman Church agrees with us in the explicit confession of this Creed, it is said not to err in fundamental points,† though found guilty of pernicious errors touching other points not fundamental. And with this supposition, I am confident that my antagonist will not quarrel, if you take him here, before he sees my reflexions upon his unwary argument.

Upon the aforesaid foundation, Mr. *I. S.* builds his Thesis, "That the Protestant Church as it is contradistinct from the Popish Church, is not the Church of Christ, because, (says he) it does not teach the doctrine of Christ, and no Church can be called of Christ further than it teacheth his doctrine."

* See Chillingworth's Answer to the book entitled *Charity Maintained*, &c., c. 24; and Dr. Hammond in his Treatise of Fundamentals, c. 2; and Stillingfleet in his *Rational Account*, part 1. chap. 2; B. Laud, p. 42.—*Note by Dr. Sall.*

† It should be constantly borne in mind, that the *peculiar* and fundamental Doctrines of *that* Church—those which mark her as Papal—form the subjects in debate, or should do so; and the question should not be rendered confused, as it sometimes is, by the introduction of doctrine *common* to both Churches.

That Protestancy, or the doctrine of Protestants, as opposite to the Popish, is not the Doctrine of Christ, he undertakes to prove by this Syllogism—"No fallible doctrine is the doctrine of Christ: but Protestancy is altogether fallible doctrine; therefore Protestancy, as it is properly the doctrine of the Protestant Church, is not the doctrine of Christ." This Syllogism he chalks out to us in a different character, for remarkable; as indeed it is; and as being unanswerable, for it is in *Ferio*, says he, page 142.* The major proposition we allow willingly; the minor, to wit, "that Protestancy is altogether fallible doctrine," he says is manifest by virtue of this other no less remarkable Syllogism;—"Protestancy, or the doctrine wherein Protestants do differ from Papists, is altogether of points, not fundamental: but the doctrine of points not fundamental, or inferior truths, is fallible doctrine; therefore Protestancy is but fallible doctrine, and therefore no doctrine of Christ.

He concludes with these words—"I confess ingenuously, I think this argument cannot solidly be answered." If his confession herein be ingenuous indeed, let him take in return this other ingenuous confession from me, that I think seriously he is a very weak man. If he be sensible himself of the fallacy and falsehood of his argument, he is unworthy in beguiling his reader, and unwise in exposing it to a polemical strict debate; and in fancying that we should want a solid answer to so silly a Sophism —not to give it yet a more severe check—haply he has that poor excuse in his favour, that he knows not what he is saying.

To see whether my answer be solid, let us examine how solid his argument is. The stress of it lies in his latter Syllogism, whose major proposition is—"That Protestancy, or the doctrine wherein Protestants do differ from Papists, is altogether on Points not fundamental." This we allow him to take for granted. Let us proceed to the minor—"but the doctrine of Points not fundamental, or inferior truths (says he) is fallible doctrine." Stop here, sir; and if justice were done to you, a perpetual stop should be put to your tongue, as blasphemous, from speaking any more.

It is a formal Blasphemy, and a horrid one, to say, that the

* [Of I. S.'s *Unerring and Unerrable Church.* For an explanation of *Ferio* see Watts's Logic pt. 3, ch. 2, sect. 3; or Hill's Logic, p. 137.]

doctrine of points not fundamental, or inferior truths in general is fallible doctrine. It is to say that the word of God is fallible. Remember what is premised a little before, and supposed by yourself in many places of your present discourse, that the points called *not fundamental* are all those other Divine Verities contained in the word of God, whether written in Canonical Scripture, or delivered to us by Apostolical Tradition, besides the points contained in the Creed; of equal objective certainty and truth with the other points. They are of a size, as you speak; all being the word of God, though not in the same degree of necessity to be explicitly believed by all men. Therefore to say that the doctrine of points, not fundamental, is fallible, is to say, that the word of God is fallible, which, without controversy, is a formal Blasphemy.

Poor Logician! Is this your argument in *Ferio*, for which you thought a solid answer could not be found? For a Syllogism in *Ferio* to be conclusive, the Premises must be allowed; and will you have us allow your Premises, when one of them is found to be a formal Blasphemy?

But it seems this horrible Blasphemy did not fall from him unawares; it was with deliberation. He goes to prove it, and see how. The Church can err, and is fallible in points not fundamental, therefore these points are fallible. This is another goodly piece of Logic, which proves that points *fundamental* are likewise fallible. Men can err, and have erred in points fundamental, therefore these also are fallible in your dialect. This is not to distinguish subjective fallibility from the objective; to pass the imperfections of the faculty upon the object. Mr. *I. S.* looks upon the sun with disordered or dim eyes, therefore the sun is dim or asquint. The Pope can err, and is fallible in declaring the word of God; therefore the word of God is fallible. Your brethren of *Clermont* College, who defended in their Theses, mentioned Chap. vi., that the Pope has the same Infallibility which Christ had, may think that consequence legal—the Pope is fallible about the word of God, therefore the word of God is fallible—because the Pope has the very same Infallibility which Christ the very word of God has. But we who allow no such equality of truth to men, cannot take fallibility in the word of God, for a consequence of man's fallibility about it.

From the aforesaid Position, you proceed to the second grand Thesis prefixed to your Chapter—"that Protestants cannot, without Blasphemy, allege Scripture for their tenets." This is surely a rare shew of your wit, a product of your own invention never heard of before. I confess to have never heard the like; and thus you proceed to prove it. Protestancy, or the points wherein Protestants do differ from Papists, is but a parcel of fallible doctrine; but no fallible doctrine can without Blasphemy be sought for in Scripture; therefore Protestants cannot without Blasphemy allege Scripture for their tenets. Make of the major what you please for the present; what desperate proposition is that of the minor—"that no fallible doctrine may without Blasphemy be sought for in Scripture?" By this all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, all Divines who allege Scripture for their several opinions, which they do not pretend to be infallible, nor more than probable opinions, are guilty of Blasphemy in your esteem!

But that this so much solemnized argument may not be altogether useless, I will retort it upon yourself with more force and less cavil; proving by it that your Church is not the Church of Christ. And thus I argue for it in your own terms. No Church is any further the Church of Christ, than as it teaches the doctrine of Christ; but the Roman Church as contradistinct from the Reformed Protestant Church, or inasmuch as it differs from it, does not teach the doctrine of Christ: therefore the Roman Church, as contradistinct from the Reformed Protestant Church is not the Church of Christ. The minor Proposition—that the Roman Church as contradistinct from the Protestant Church, does not teach the doctrine of Christ, I prove thus: The doctrine which the Roman Church, as contradistinct from the Protestant, and opposite to it, teaches, is, the Pope's Infallibility and Supremacy over all the Christian Church, Transubstantiation, Worship of Images, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, Indulgences, Half-Communion, Liturgy in an Unknown tongue, prohibiting the people to read Holy Scripture, &c.; all which I have shewn in my former discourse, to be not the doctrine of Christ, but all contrary to it; and in this present treatise will more fully demonstrate the same: therefore the Roman Church, as contradistinct from the Protestant, and opposite to it, does not

teach the Doctrine of Christ, and consequently is not the Church of Christ.*

* The Church of Rome makes fully as much use of the distinction between *fundamental* doctrines and others, as any Church existing. What is the whole drift of Veron's, Bossuet's and Holden's *written* works, and the speaking voice of that Church in many of her teachers, but that only this and that doctrine is of *necessity* to be believed by a proselyte to the Church of Rome? It would, in our opinion, have been far better for Dr. Sall to have refuted the major proposition in this Chapter, as the *fundamental* doctrines of Christianity, and the *fundamental* doctrines of Popery are very different things.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *A Refutation of several other attempts of Mr.* I. S. *in that eighth Chapter*

You are prolix in pretending that Protestants have not unity of faith with Papists. God forbid that they should agree in all points with them:—spare your bragging that *they claim kindred* with you. It is a great piece of courtesy and charity in Protestants to admit kindred with you, or allow you to be a part, though infected and corrupted, of the Catholic Church; a courtesy, I say, in some respect like that of Bellarmine, in admitting even the most scandalously wicked of men*—Epicures in manners and Atheists in belief—to the Communion of his Church, provided they do but exteriorly own the Romish Religion, and obedience to the Pope, though but for temporal objects. His kindness to his Lord the Pope, and zeal for his grandeur, makes him thus extend his courtesy. Our love to our Lord Christ makes us admit kindred with you, and to take you for members of the Church Universal, inasmuch as you confess with us though but verbally, the chief articles of his doctrine contained in the Creed.

You proceed to exhort Protestants to an Examination of their belief, whether they are in the right. I wish your party complied so well herein with their duty, or were permitted to do it; as Protestants do, and are allowed. Here they inquire, dispute, and read carefully books for and against their tenets. They are *permitted* to do it, and encouraged in it by their instructors. You will not allow your people to read, dispute, or doubt at all of your tenets.

You say Protestants are obliged in conscience to doubt of their Religion; while you tell your own people, that they are obliged in conscience not to doubt of theirs. How came your Church by this Prerogative? because it is *unerring and unerrable*, as the title of your book affirms. But the book does not prove this; as

* [*De Eccles. Milit.* lib. 3, capp. 9, 10.]

we are shewing. Why are Protestants *obliged* to doubt of their Religion? Because it is new, say you. This was the argument of Pagans to stop the preaching of the Gospel; more improperly, and with less ground used by you. *Our* Religion is the Ancient, and *yours* the New, as we prove. Where was our Religion, say you, before *Luther?*—a question which, as one too old, should be cast aside. We answer, where yours never was—in the word of God, and in the true records of Primitive Christianity.

You conclude your heterogeneous Chapter, and the first part of your book, with mentioning the treatise or paper which I penned some years ago, in favour of the salvation of Protestants against your vulgar teachers, who consign all to hell for Heretics, without reserve or distinction. You say the doctrine which I delivered was true; but that it was indiscreet to utter it in Ireland, whither I was sent to effect, if possible, the conversion of Protestants. The case was with Papists, who, concerned for the salvation of their relations and friends in the Protestant Communion, enquired, whether such, believing sincerely that they were in the right—never convinced of the contrary, and living religiously in the fear of God, and in the observance of his commandments—might be saved. I answered they might, and were not Heretics, but members of the Catholic Church, a dignity received in their baptism, and not to be lost otherwise, than by formal heresy or infidelity, whereof they were not guilty by the aforesaid supposition. You say all this is true, but that it is not discreet to declare truth itself, when there is no obligation to declare it. Well; but was there not an obligation upon me, when questioned, to answer according to truth? *No*, say you, *for if the enquirers were Papists, they needed not to be instructed in that truth; it is no fundamental truth;—if Protestants, they were not obliged to know it for the same reason; and that the answer was an encouragement to them to remain as they were.* A pretty subtility! We have shewn before, how, respecting points not fundamental, there may be pernicious errors. Such is that opposite to the truth of which we are now speaking—an error subversive of Christian charity and public peace; a seed of those animosities, rebellion, and combustions which have made this land unhappy. And ought not a sincere instructor, a faithful minister of the word of God to oppose this error? No, say you, because it was to

encourage Protestants to remain as they were, and not to come under the Pope's obedience. There is the ground of your dislike of me.

Thus indeed stood the case; and this was one of my chief reasons to be dissatisfied with your way—that the Rule of my doctrine among you must not be truth,* but the interest of the

* This plan of adapting the Creed of the Church of Rome to the existing situation of affairs has been long practised; though in Great Britain perhaps more than in other countries, where these "sweeteners," (to use Mr. Hawkins's admirable phrase) have been long and constantly employed in exhibiting their "Protean views of Rome."

"You wish me to confine my remarks to England and the manner in which Catholicity is practised here. If I could persuade myself that your plan of Reformation would have any lasting establishment, it were well indeed to shut our eyes to the follies of times that are past, or of those of other countries. But as this is greatly to be questioned; and even in *England* many of your own party are determined, so long as they are Catholics at all, to remain Catholics of the old Church, your scheme will never be attended with any permanent success. The *English*, as well as other nations, are likely to drop back into the old beaten track; and will assuredly prefer the ideas and discipline of the major part of times and peoples, to the more enlarged views of a few "*sweeteners*," who are nearly the same amongst Catholics, as were, according to your favourite historian (Natalis Alex. hist. eccles. tom 5, dissert. 6) *Cavillatores*, *Semipagani*, and *Philosophatores* amongst the Pagans. From hence arises the difficulty, when writing against your System, to know which way to point the attack, or with what arms to combat. Proteus-like, it is for ever varying. What is demonstrated against an *Italian* Catholic, does not affect an *Englishman*—What is objected against a Catholic of the tenth or fourteenth age, is said not to touch the discipline or doctrines of the 18th. And yet all these ages and principles and practices, will certainly come round again, and the Controversy may be carried on '*in omne volubilis ævum*,' without drawing a single line nearer to a conclusion. Remember what Dr. *Wake* asserted and proved against the Bp. of *Meaux* with respect to the variations of his Church (*Appeal* 195, *Mosheim* Cent. XVII.) and you will perhaps begin to apprehend lest your own *Reflections* should stand in need of some similar artifice, to render them more palatable to Rome. However it is a real compliment to our Religion, that the more learned and liberal your writers are, the nearer are their approaches towards the tenets of the Reformed Church; and the more they value themselves upon being able to represent their own doctrines as much like ours as the times will bear. Nor should it be forgotten that at the beginning of the Reformation we only rejected the far greater number of your tenets and observances, in that very sense in which you are now so solicitous to excuse them, and against which only our chief objections lie. To insist upon the distinction between the old and new tenets of your Religion would lead me into a discussion which I mean not to pursue; but enough may be seen upon this subject in Bishop Gibson's Collection of Tracts, to satisfy the most sceptical enquirer; to justify whatever I have said upon this subject; and to expose the vain subterfuges by which Dr. Wake's observations are endeavoured

Bishop of Rome, and the increase of his dominion, whether by right or wrong. This point of policy or discretion, as you call it, I refused openly to learn from you, choosing rather to be of the *children of light* (though with less prudence in your opinion) than of *the children of this world*, by that elevated point of prudence which you would teach me—of prostituting truth and honesty to the Pope's pleasure and interest.

to be eluded. (Appeal pp. 87. 94. 114.) There are many in your own Church at this very time, as I have elsewhere hinted, who bitterly complain that *good old Popery* is so run down by reason of the delicate scruples of this accommodating age; and who lament that so many *Irrefragable*, *Angelical*, *Seraphical*, *Marian*, *Invincible*, *Subtile Doctors*, who had been so long considered as the main channels through which their several Traditions flowed, should now be treated with as much neglect and contumely, as if they had been mere children and were totally unacquainted with the tenets of their Church." Hawkins's *General Defence of the Reformation in a Letter to the Rev. J. Berington*; Worcester, 1788, pp. 85-7.

Mr. Hawkins had been himself a Roman Priest.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Mr.* I. S.'s *Answers to my Objections against the Pope's Infallibility refuted; his defence of* Bellarmine, *of the Council of* Constance, *and of* Coster, *declared to be weak and vain.*

OUR adversary foreseeing what small assistance he could expect from Scripture and Reason for maintaining his tenets, employs his main forces in setting up their ordinary and great engine of the Pope's Infallibility; and having bestowed the far greater part of his book upon that subject, turns to it again, beginning the second Part of his said book with reflections upon some of my arguments against their pretensions; and wanting, it seems, materials to bring his book to the intended bulk, repeats much of what he had said before: wherein I will not imitate him by repeating my replies, my desire being to abbreviate, as far as may consist with a full satisfaction to all his objections.

He pretends to cast a mist over the case, turning the usual term of Pope's Infallibility, to Infallibility of the Church; and by *Church* he means fraudulently not the Church Universal Catholic and Apostolic, (to which I allow all the privileges and assistances of the Holy Ghost promised to it in Scripture, though he signifies that he doubts of my meaning herein,) but his own particular Church; I do not mean the Diocese of *Rome* (as he wilfully imposes upon me, haply to gain time or draw us from the point,) but the Congregation subject to the Pope wheresoever extant. Defenders of a bad cause love such confusion and obscurities, as foxes do holes and thickets; but we must keep him to the light, and to the ordinary use of terms, taking for the Pope's Infallibility the same which he or any of his communion attributes to their Church depending upon the Pope, as is declared above in the beginning of the Vth. Chapter.

I said that I wondered how Bellarmine should make it an argument* of the Pope's Infallibility, that the high Priest was in

* See Ames's *Bellarminus Enervatus*, lib. 3. cap. 6. §. 16. "Quod Bellarm. de Pont. Rom. lib. 4. cap. 3. nititur, non solum ut versionem vulgatam tueatur, sed etiam ut ex eo inferat Rom. Pontif. dum Ecclesiam docet, nullo casu errare

the habit of bearing on his Breast-plate two Hebrew words, signifying Doctrine and Truth.* I questioned whether he believed all those High Priests, even *Caiaphas* condemning Christ, to be infallible in their judgments.† Mr. *I. S.* in order to relieve Bellarmine, endeavours to authorize the affirmative, and to that of *Caiaphas* says nothing, and so gives us leave to think that he held him also infallible, according to that rule, *qui tacet consentire videtur.* By which we have this further notice of Mr. *I. S.'s* singular doctrine, that he finds *Caiaphas* infallible in his judgment passed against the life of our Saviour, and taxes me with ignorance in not knowing so much.

I accused them of making the Pope arbiter and supreme Judge over God's Laws. So Bellarmine, *lib.* 4. *de Rom. Pont. c.* 5, hesitates not to say, *that if the Pope did command vices, and prohibit virtues, the Church would be obliged to believe vice to be good, and virtue bad.* And the Council of *Constance* commanded the decrees of Popes to be preferred before the Institutions of Christ, since having confessed that our Saviour ordained the Communion under both kinds to the Laity, and that the Apostles practised it, they commanded that it should be given for the future but in one kind, alleging for a reason, that the preceding Popes so practised it: which is to extol the decrees of Popes above those of Christ. As if the laws of *England* were not to be understood or practised in *Ireland,* but according to the will and declaration of the King of *France,* certainly the King of *France* would be deemed of more consequence in *Ireland,* than the King of *England,* and the people more his subjects.

posse—id ille facit iis rationibus, quarum suos etiam pudet." *Rivet. in Exod.* XXVIII. 30.

* *Urim* autem a *luce,* Thummim a *perfectione* denominantur. Scilicet hunc habuere usum, ut consultum Sacerdotem *illuminarent* ad intelligentiam rei occultæ, sermonemque ejus ad intellecta rite enunciandum *perficerent*: seu potius, symbola fuerunt Divinæ præsentiæ et directionis, in dubiis et arcanis Pontif. imbuentis notitiâ et eloquio ad eruditionem consulentium. Witsii Ægyptiaca, p. 202.

† This is not an uncommon decision by Romish authorities. Melchior Canus seems to consider it in this light:—"Quin divinum oraculum fuisse Joannes Evangelista testatur." *Loci theol. lib.* 5. *cap. postr.* And *Hosius* judged that when *Annas* and *Caiaphas* sat as Presidents in the Council, and Christ the Son of God was by them condemned to die, yet nevertheless the same Council had the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and the undoubted Spirit of Truth. Jewel's *Defence of the Apology,* part 6. du. 3.

To that position of Bellarmine you reply that he was speaking of *vices* and *virtues* when there is a doubt of their being such;* for example, if there should arise a doubt of Usury being a vice, and in that case the Pope should command Usury to be practised, we should be obliged to practice Usury. Herein, Sir, you allow us all that we pretended; and you confess what we condemned in Bellarmine. I could allege many texts of Scripture, supposing and affirming Usury to be a vice. But you spare me that labour, presupposing that *Usury of itself is a vice of its nature bad (per se malum,)* and that you all know it to be such; and notwithstanding that knowledge, and God's declaration in Scripture, you say that if the Pope should command Usury to be practised, we should be obliged to practise it. And so it is indeed with you, both with regard to usury and other vices. We all know that Rebellion is a sin, and so odious to God, that in Scripture it is compared to Witchcraft and Idolatry, 1 Sam. xv. 23. But if the Pope should command you to rebel against your King for Religion's sake (forsooth,) then would you be obliged to rebel against him; because (say you, with Bellarmine) *in dubious cases the Church is obliged to obey the Pope.* Men are apt to doubt of their duties, and the Devil is ready to stir up such doubts in them. Thus he wrought the first Rebellion in Paradise, *Cur præcepit vobis Deus, &c. Why has God said ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?* And if the Pope comes out declaring, that it is lawful and religious to rebel, you must practise accordingly; though Scripture and Reason give you to know, that Rebellion is an heinious vice. This is the great power of the Pope which you teach, to metamorphose vices into virtues, and virtues into vices. It is a common boast of your

* [Bellarmine has himself given this interpretation of his words, in the *Recognitis librorum omnium R. B. ab ipso edita* (Ingold. 1608) by saying "Loquuti sumus de actibus dubiis virtutum aut vitiorum; nam si præciperet manifestum vitium, aut prohiberet manifestam virtutem, dicendum esset cum Petro, *obedire oportet magis Deo quam hominibus;* p. 19. But even this statement, it will be seen, concedes private judgment to individuals; for who is to decide upon the dubiety or otherwise of certain actions? If the Pope, then the case reverts to its old position. To parry this assertion [of Bellarmine] it has been urged that it is simply a link in a chain of argument. This may be, and is, the fact; but it is not a whit the less an assertion for that reason—it is still, and is likely to remain (for Bellarmine's *Disputationes* are now being reprinted at Rome) "a positive assertion," *Protestant Journal*, 1832, p. 112.]

stout bigots to say, that if the Pope should prohibit them from repeating the Lord's prayer—*Our Father*, &c. they would not say it, though Christ ordered them so to pray.

With respect to that command of the Council of *Constance*, you reply that it is false to assert that they alleged no other reason for prohibiting the Cup to the Laity than the Decrees of preceding Popes. You affirm, that they alleged also for reason the example of Christ and his Apostles who gave it in one kind; whereby it appears that you did not read the Council. Read the 13th. Session of it, where this matter is given, and there you will find no mention of Christ and his Apostles as having given the Sacrament in one kind; but the contrary is supposed, as appears by these words of the Decree—*Quod licet in Primitiva Ecclesia hujusmodi Sacramentum reciperetur à fidelibus sub utraque specie, postea à conficientibus sub utraque, et à Laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur—That though the Sacrament of Communion in the Primitive Church was received by the faithful under both kinds, for the future it is to be received by the Priests consecrating, under both kinds, and by the Laity, only under the species of bread.* It is therefore from your own invention to say that Christ and the Apostles administered it to the Laity under one kind; the Council does not pretend to know so much, only alleging the custom formerly introduced, and saying, *Unde cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab Ecclesia et Sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta et diutissime observata sit, habenda est pro lege—That this custom being reasonably introduced, a long time observed by the Church and holy Fathers, it is to be taken for a law.* Here you see no mention made of Christ or the Apostles to have so done, as you say; upon what ground you do not tell us; you will have it taken upon your own credit.

By saying that I may flatter the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by telling him that he has more power in this kingdom than the King his master, in whose place and name he acts, because I accused you of giving more power to the Pope than to God, by these privileges of fixing upon the Divine Law what sense he pleases, and overthrowing the ordinances of Christ to set up his own;—by this your expression, I say, you are twice criminal in a heinous degree: *first*, for imagining it should be a way to flatter my

Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* to say, that he had more power in *Ireland* than the King's Majesty; which he could not hear without horror and indignation; and, *secondly*, for the falsehood of your supposition in framing your parity. When, or where, did the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* say, that notwithstanding the King of *England* ordained this or that, for the Government of *Ireland*, he himself would order the contrary? as your pretended Vicar of Christ said in the Council of *Constance* now mentioned, that notwithstanding Christ ordered the Communion to be given in both kinds to the Laity, he did himself order to the contrary. And all this senseless and groundless extravagance you run upon just to find occasion of talking to us of a halter, after your wonted grave and modest style. But being convinced of a false accusation, you deserve, by the law of retaliation, the punishment due to the crime which you so falsely impose upon us. Certainly that of the ducking-stool will appear in all good judgments both due and necessary to so foul a mouth.

Another example I produced of your extolling Papal laws above the Divine, in the case of Coster, saying,* *It is a greater sin in a Priest to marry than to keep a concubine*, the former being but a transgression of a Papal law, the second of a Divine. You answer (p. 175) that though it be but a Papal law that Priests should vow chastity, yet the vow being made it is a transgression of the Divine law to violate it. Consult your Casuists, Sir, and you shall find them all say, that a vow made in any matter, opposite to God's orders, is null or invalid. There is an order of God intimated by St. Paul to the unmarried, that *if they cannot contain they may marry*, 1 Cor. vii. 9. Possible it is that a Priest should find by experience that he cannot contain. This you will not deny. Then the vow appears to be null, because by it was promised a thing contrary to that order of God intimated by St. Paul; and consequently the obligation of it

* [In his *Enchiridion*, *cap.* 15, *prop.* 9, as quoted in Barlow's *Brutum Fulmen*, p. 157; see Baxter's Key for Catholics, edit. 1839, p. 275.—"For a Priest to take a wife honestly and lawfully in the fear of the Lord, according to the words of the Lord, if the gift of chastity was not given him, was reputed a more abominable offence than to have a Concubine or a Harlot. See the Note on 1 Cor. vii. 9, in the *Rhemish Testament*, edit. 1582, p. 440, where this is openly and plainly asserted." *Becon's Writings* and Note, by the Religious Tract Society, p. 441.]

ceases; only the Pope's law prohibiting Priests to marry urges. To it is opposed that other direction intimated to the unmarried—*if they cannot contain, let them marry.* Which of these laws or orders must be observed? If you say the Pope's law as Coster does; then follows the conclusion, that you prefer the Pope's laws to those of God. You may exclaim at this; but you see the premises containing in them the conclusion is inbred, undenied, doctrine among you.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Our Adversary's foul and greater circle committed whilst pretending to rid his claim to Infallibility from the censure of a circle. His many absurdities and great ignorance in the pursuit of this attempt discovered. A better resolution of faith proposed according to Protestant Principles.*

I ACCUSED our adversaries of a Circle committed in their pretence to Infallibility, because they prove it by Scripture, and the Infallibility of Scripture they prove by the Infallibility of their Church, which is to go still round in a circle. Mr. *I. S.* with a view to wind himself out of this Circle, presents to us a resolution of his faith, containing in it a greater Circle, or many Circles together. Having premised some trivial notions respecting the obscurity of faith, and evidence of credibility required to the assent of it, he falls upon extolling the power and aptness of Miracles to produce such credibility, making all contribute to the advantage of the Roman Church, as he pretends, authorized with Miracles; and from page 180, he enters into his resolution of faith thus:—"You ask why I believe the Trinity? I answer, because God has revealed it. You ask, why I believe that God revealed it? I answer, because the Church, by which God speaks, tells us so. You ask, why I believe that God speaks by the Church? I must not answer because the Scripture says it; * * * neither must I answer, that I believe God to speak by the Church, because she works Miracles."

Here I am at a loss to understand whether this is the same man who was arguing a little before, p. 177, and more at large p. 102, and extolling the force of miracles to produce an evidence of credibility in the proposer of Divine Verities; or another of his auxiliaries who came in his place to carry on the work, without regard to what the former had said. But whoever he be, let us see how he disputes against Miracles: *If the Miracles be absolutely evident*, says he, *they can be no motive of faith, which is of its own nature obscure; and if they be but morally evident*

*Miracles, they cannot be the motive, because the motive of faith must be infallible.** How blind is the attempt of this man against Miracles! how destructive of his own purpose! How absurd and ridiculous his argument against Miracles is, I have shewn above in Chap. IX. and thither I remit the reader. Now let us consider this mysterious work of our adversary in its progress.

Having excluded Miracles from assuring us of the credibility of the Church proposing doctrines to us, he tells us how we must answer that question, Why I believe that God speaks by the Church? and it must be thus:—*Because the Church, by which God speaks, says that God speaks by her; and I am obliged to believe he speaks by her, because he doth accredit her with so many Miracles and supernatural marks, which makes it evidently credible that he doth speak by her.* If it is the same man who writes the whole page, it cannot but appear a wonder, that having employed his skill a few lines before, in weakening the force of Miracles in order to ground the Infallibility of his Church, he should now take up the same Miracles for his ultimate reason of believing in the Church—as a fastidious man, who throwing away the paring of his apple, and checking his companion for eating *his* without paring, yet fell immediately after upon devouring the paring, which he had thrown away.

But in order to remedy the sad want of coherence in reasoning which he manifests, our adversary shuffles in a distinction betwixt the motive of our act of faith, and the motive of our obligation of believing, which indeed is nothing else at the present than *culicem excoriare—to flay a flea;*—after much ado to do nothing. The present question immediately proposed is, *Why am I to believe that God speaks by the Church?* The only reason which he gives for believing in the Church is Miracles. What needs that distinction of motive to my belief, and motive to my acknowledgment of obligation to belief? The same reason that causes me to believe, intimates to me my obligation of believing. The Primitive Christians who heard the Apostles preach, and saw their Miracles, knew nothing of these distinctions. Seeing those servants of God confirm their doctrine with Miracles,

* [Page 141 of I. S.'s *Unerring and Unerrable Church.*]

they believed that God spake by them, and for the same reason or motive thought themselves obliged to believe them. If we have the same faith that the Primitive Christians of *Jerusalem* and *Antioch* had, as Mr. *I. S.* says (p. 183) why shall we not be led the same way to believe as they did?

But our Adversary's design is to impose upon us a faith which the Apostles did not teach, and this he discovers clearly (though haply not so much to his own knowledge) p. 184, in these remarkable words—*The chief and last motive whereupon our faith must rest, is the Word of God speaking to us by the Church. The Church, I say, by which God actually in this present age speaks unto us; for we do not believe because God did speak in the first, second, or third age by the Church*, &c. Here you perceive, reader, a plain manifestation of the great guilt of the Roman Church, deserving the most severe resentment of all true Christians, that glorious, truly Catholic, Apostolic and Holy Church* of the Primitive ages being excluded from the office of being mistress of our belief; and the Church of this corrupt age, governed by the most corrupt Court in the world (if we are to believe those who are best acquainted with it) that of *Rome*, substituted in her place; and as this is proposed by our adversary without any proof, so it ought to be rejected by all true Christians with indignation.

I will just add a few reflections upon the inconclusiveness of the Man's arguments and shew how far he is from attaining his purpose of ridding himself from a Circle in resolving his Faith. All that great labyrinth which he works from p. 176 to p. 184, in order to declare his method of advancing each act of faith (enough to puzzle the best understanding) will certainly be requisite in his

* [This deference to the imaginary perfection of the Primitive ages (to use Mr. Hallam's words, *Literature of Europe*, 3, 70) is rather incautious, and may lead, as it has often done, to a partial casting aside of help too readily seized upon, when found not strong enough to bear the weight laid upon it. For some very just remarks upon the point, we cannot do better than direct attention to Mr. Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*; and to Mr. Pope's Roman Misquotation for the way, in which the writings of the earlier ages have been perverted to testify in behalf of the modern Church of Rome. Rivet's *tractatus de Patrum autoritate* prefixed to his *Criticus sacer*, will, as usual, reward a perusal, and Daillé *on the use of the Fathers*, may be mentioned also for such as would be "resolved" upon the subject of submission to the Early Church, and its claims.]

opinion to proceed to this last act of faith, which he will have to be the guide of all others, *that the Roman Church of this age is infallible in teaching what we ought to believe.* This being, as he says, an act of Divine faith, I mean, that the Pope with a General Council, such as that of Trent, is infallible in proposing matters of faith, how shall he go about to assure his Faith upon this particular point? Certainly thus, according to his former discourse: I believe that the present Church governed by the Pope of *Rome* in the Council of Trent is infallible, and God speaks by her, *because the Church by which God speaks says, that God speaks by her; and I am obliged to believe that God speaks by her, because he accredits her by so many Miracles, and supernatural marks, which makes it evidently credible that he does speak by her.* These are Mr. *I. S.*'s own words, and his Confession of faith set down in the 181st page of his book. And while the reader is reckoning in how many circles he is here entangled while endeavouring to rid himself of one, I ask of him where are those Miracles wrought by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, and the Popes moderating in it which are to produce in me an evidence of credibility that God spake by their mouth such as the Christians of *Jerusalem* and *Antioch* saw the Apostles work for believing that God spake by them; because, he says, that I must take the objects of faith upon credit of the present Church, and *that* credit must be grounded upon Miracles and supernatural marks appearing in its favour? Will he have us prefer his forged Miracles in favour of his new coined faith, to those wrought by the Apostles in confirmation of the faith preached by them? Turn, reader, to what I said to this purpose in the IXth Chapter of this Treatise. The more I consider this resolution of Mr. *I. S.'s* faith, the less I find in it of satisfaction, and the more circles and obscurities. Now I enquire of him further, why he excludes the Church of the first, second, and third age from the office of declaring God's will and word to us? He answers, because the declarations of that ancient Church are known to us only by Tradition; and *Tradition*, says he, *is not the motive, but the Rule of our belief.* All this he must say of the Council of *Trent*, or the Church represented in it of this age; that alone, and not the Pope out of it, must be, in his doctrine, our infallible teacher. Now further—Is not the doctrine of the

Council of Trent, proposed to us as a Rule of our Faith, of equal value and authority with the written word of God, inasmuch as they both proceed from the Holy Ghost? They say it is. Is not, moreover, that doctrine known to us only by Tradition? Certainly it is. I have no notice of it, nor can I have, but by relation of others; and they of no more credit with me, but rather of far less, than those venerable writers who relate to us the doctrine of the Primitive Church. Are there not Controversies daily and endless, about the sense and meaning of the Council of Trent; as well as about the more ancient Councils? Witness the dismal broils between the Jesuits, Jansenists, and Dominicans. Where is now Mr. *I. S.'s* living, infallible Judge? The Council of Trent has closed, and the Popes governing it are dead and gone. The Pope now living, or any Council which he can congregate, less than a General one, is not an infallible Judge. Who then will assure him? Must he have a General Council congregated for the resolution of his faith in every doubt that may come into his head?

How shall we be sure that Popes *Innocent* and *Alexander* did not err in their decisions on the great debate with the *Jansenists?* Their definition thereon not having originated in a General Council cannot be to us a warrant of security in Mr. *I. S.'s* opinion. The *Jansenists* will triumph at this;* and will that

* The Abbey of Port Royal in the Fields, situated in a retired valley not far from Paris, occupied at this period a very prominent place among the Religious Institutions of France. "It excited," says Mosheim, "the indignation of the Jesuits, the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of Europe;" and this not only on account of the highly religious tone of thinking and acting of its inmates, but of their literary acquirements. Founded in 1204 by Eudes de Sully, Bp. of Paris, its discipline had, in process of time, become gradually relaxed, and the inhabitants had sunk into that sloth and sensuality which was too prevalent among Monastic bodies; this was, in fact, a natural result of an unnatural seclusion from the ordinary occupations of life, equally at variance with the Gospel and common sense, and one which was in no small measure the means of forwarding the progress of the blessed Reformation; and at the same time testifying that a life of supposed separation from the world might yet be spent in walking according to its course, and that the walls of a Monastery or Nunnery are by no means to be regarded as containing within them the most exalted Religious feeling or the purest morality. An important Reformation, however, had taken place under the government of Jaqueline, daughter of Anthony Arnaud, who after her conversion, assumed the name of *Marie Angelique de la St. Madeline.* It had for a century exemplified a model of piety,

please them at *Rome* and *Paris?* While Mr. *I. S.* agrees with them upon this particular point, I ask further—Though a General Council were congregated now to that effect, such as that of *Trent*, to assure us of Infallibility exercised in the articles defined against *Jansenius*, how shall I be sure that God speaks by such a Council, or the Church represented in it? Thus, in Mr. *I. S.'s* dialect:—*Because the Church by which God speaks says that God speaks by her, because he doth accredit her by so many Miracles and supernatural works, which makes it evidently credible that he doth speak by her.* Well, and where are those Miracles and supernatural marks assisting this Council present, to assure us that God speaks by it? Are you sure to find them at hand when the Council is assembled? Likely you are, upon the experience of coining Miracles, when occasion requires it.

By this, reader, you may perceive how little Mr. *I. S.* has accomplished after all his toil, for resolving his faith without arguing in a circle. How rash his assurance was, that Protestants will never resolve theirs without involving themselves in a similar fault, I will now briefly shew. The faith of Protestants is that contained in Canonical Scripture, as he often supposes. My faith regarding each point of those contained in Scripture, I resolve thus:—I believe that the Son of God was made man, because I find it written in Holy Scripture—I believe what is written in the Holy Scripture, because it is the infallible word of God—and I believe it is the word of God, because the Apostles who preached it confirmed it with such Miracles and wonders as

mingled indeed with lamentable error, and accompanied with austerities at variance with the true character of the Gospel; still, a great change had been wrought; the views entertained by JANSENIUS had here taken root, and had been instrumental in weaning many a heart from the world, and in producing a tone of seriousness which strikingly contrasted with that existing in many of the institutions which it has been, and now is, the policy of the See of Rome to sustain—institutions that are silently working their way in our own country, the increase of which is viewed with a strange apathy, but which may be one day instrumental in causing much confusion in the kingdom, in the attempt to raise Popery on the ruins of Protestantism." *Church of England Magazine*, 1839, vol. vii. p. 229; where there is a very excellent and judicious account of this celebrated Establishment, equally remote from the occasional unfairness of Mosheim, and the childish charity of Mrs. Schimmelpenninck. It may be just added that the Jesuits at last accomplished the utter ruin of this, so far an excellent, Protestant community, in 1709; see pp. 259-60, of the same Magazine.

God alone could work; and, finally, that the Apostles delivered the doctrine contained in Scripture, and confirmed it with Miracles, I believe by virtue of Universal Tradition, according to that celebrated notion of it delivered by Vincentius Lirinensis—*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod apud omnes est creditum—what was always, in all places, and by all Christians received and believed, is to be taken for Universal and Apostolical Tradition.*

This common consent of Christians making up Universal Tradition, we have in what is unanimously delivered by the ancient Fathers, and declared in the first General Councils of those more holy and sincere Primitive times. Thither I go to take up my belief, as to streams immediately proceeding from the fountain of Grace, with more pleasure and satisfaction than to the muddy waters of doctrine delivered by the Church of *Rome* of this corrupt age,* which has passed through so many hands defiled with ambition, avarice, and other earthly passions repugnant to sincerity; and of this indeed we have assurance more than enough.

* [And yet Bellarmine, whose sentiment *I. S.* has in effect repeated, affirms—(*de effec. Sacram.* lib. 2, c. 25.) that *if we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the Council of Trent, then the whole Christian faith may be called in question; for the truth of all ancient Councils, and all points of faith depend upon the authority of the present Church of Rome.* How much better said Austin (de Doctr. Christian. lib. 1. c. 37) "Our faith shall reel and totter, if the authority of the Scripture stand not fast." Let these assertions of the Papistry be well noted. White's *Way to the true Church*, §. 8. 20.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*A reflection upon the perverse doctrine contained in the Resolution of Faith proposed to us by Mr.* I. S. *and the pernicious and most dangerous consequences of it.*

It is a Providence of God, and the great force of Truth, that our Adversaries should forget themselves sometimes, and discover their wicked intentions which are covered under sacred pretexts. All their Novelties they frequently set forth under the venerable cloak of *Antiquity*. It is a glory of Humility, says St. Bernard, that *Pride should wear a cloak of it, to be in esteem—Gloriosa res humilitas qua se vestire solet Superbia ne vilescat ;** and so it is a glory of Antiquity that Novellers should pretend credit to their inventions, by casting on them a colour of Antiquity.† It is very frequent with the Romanists to use this stratagem in order to cloke their new decrees with the venerable name of ancient Canons, to call their Church the ancient Church, though composed of Novelties where it opposes the Reformed. Mr. *I. S.* has been pleased to unmask his Church herein to us, declaring that the ultimate ground and motive of their belief, and that of their Proselytes, must not be the testimony of that sacred Primitive Church governed by Christ himself, and his blessed Apostles; but the testimony of the present Church of *Rome*, infected with

* Bernard *de gradibus humilitatis*, cap. 18, §. 47—"qua ipsa quoque superbia palliare se appetit, ne vilescat!" Sall appears to have quoted *memoriter*.

† "First in the Jewish temple, of which the ornaments were divinely appointed, there was the candlestick, the emblem of the light of God's presence, and of the radiance of God's glory. Secondly, in the Churches (1) during the life time of St. John, there were candlesticks significant of the same mysteries, and of the knowledge of Christ in the Church, the removal of which was employed to prefigure the withdrawal of God's favour, and the times of ignorance and darkness, as you may read in the second chapter of Revelation." Sermon by the Rev. G. A. Walker at Newcastle, Jan. 12th, 1840! in "defence of *certain doctrines, and ceremonies, and ornaments*," lately restored in St. Andrew's Church there. And yet what this man of 1840 wishes to see restored, was forbidden at the Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, Can. 34, to be done even in Cemeteries.

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corruptions which the world knows, and both friends and foes see and exclaim against as a universal scandal.

Besides the perverseness of this doctrine—obvious to every one who will not blind his eyes wilfully—taking from our sight and view the sweet and comfortable face of Primitive Christianity, and willing us only to attend the foul and abominable practices of the Roman Court, calling itself *the Church*, and even *the Catholic, Universal, and only Church* to the offence and scandal of all sincere and knowing men;—besides the perversity of this doctrine, the dangerous consequences of it are much to be considered for preventing the growth of this destructive seed.

First, it follows hence that as there is no end of disputes and controversies among men (nor is likely to be,) so there will be no end of coining new articles of faith, all tending to the increase of the power and splendour of the Pope and his Court, though at the expence of disturbances and destruction to men and cities, provinces and kingdoms, as has often happened. This, to be their aim, under the pretence of exalting and propagating the faith of Christ, appears by the next attempt of Mr. *I. S.* in favour of the Pope's Supremacy, to be examined in the Chapter next following.

Having established the Pope, and his present Church (as he conceives) in the situation of Infallible Judges in matters of faith, the next point which he takes in hand to establish, as the chiefest of his concern is the Pope's *Supremacy*, and absolute power over all Christians; directly forsooth in spirituals, but effectively in their temporal concerns: as many powerful Princes, Kingdoms, and Provinces have experienced to their woe. These *two* great prerogatives of *absolute power* over all Christians, and of *Infallibility* in his Decrees, such as none may oppose or murmur against, being established in the Pope, what security can people or Princes have of their liberties or possessions, if liable to be voted Heretics because they do not receive and submit to anything which the Pope may be pleased to decree and declare for an article of faith; and being thus censured, to have their liberties and lands seized upon and taken from them, by any who may have force to do it? [Bellarm. *de Pont. Rom. lib.* 5, capp. 1. 5 and 6.]

Next we are to consider the dangerous consequences of this doctrine in the daily extent of the Pope's power and authority,

by his Emissaries and flatterers. Hitherto they were content to assert his Infallibility in matters of *right;* now of late they extend it to matters of *fact*; as appears in the famous *Thesis* of the Parisian Jesuits, declared above in the IXth Chapter. And though another party opposed that assertion of theirs, as mentioned in the place aforesaid, all men know how little success any may expect to have, in the Roman judicature, against such as will engage in exalting and extending the power and authority of the Pope; and accordingly, the Jesuits have not only obtained a censure of heresy and blasphemy, &c. against the Doctrine of *Cornelius Jansenius*, where the debate turned upon the matter of *right*, but another arising concerning the fact, whether *Jansenius* did indeed deliver such a doctrine. They obtained likewise from the succeeding Pope, Alexander VII. a Bull and Decree no less peremptory respecting the fact, and declaring that the said Propositions censured by his Predecessor are really contained in *Jansenius's book*; and (which is more wonderful that he should know) in the sense intended by *Jansenius.* The aforesaid sworn defenders and exalters of the Pope's authority have maintained publicly, that we are to believe with Divine Faith, the said declaration of the Pope against *Jansenius*, as well in matters of *right* as fact, to be infallible, by these notable words: *Fide Divina credi potest librum cui titulis* Augustinus Jansenii *esse hæreticum, et quinque Propositiones ex eo decerptas esse* Jansenii, *et in sensu* Jansenii *damnatas—that the book entitled the* Augustin of Jansenius* *is heretical, and the five Propositions which are gathered*

* The history of the dissensions caused by the writings of *Jansenius*, and the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*, in the beginning of the present century, is more than sufficient to invalidate all your pretensions and system. And the contradictory publications of the Cardinal *Noailles* and the Bp. of *Soissons*, as well as the other *accepting* and *appealing* Prelates, will ever furnish a memorable proof of the insufficiency of your unerring guide to settle religious contentions in your own Church; although you speak so vauntingly of the harmony of sentiment which ever prevails in your Society. This famous *Constitution* is now regarded as a Rule of Faith as to its effects, although it was perhaps never legally accepted as such. Yet how many applications did it not require, how many appeals did it not give rise to, to a future Council which never will be held? How was not the Catholic world thrown into the utmost confusion by excommunications, seizures, prosecutions, arrets, decrees, explanations, Pastoral Letters, &c.; while Bishops, Abbots, Chapters and Colleges, both secular and regular, were mutually fulminating anathemas against each other; at the same

*out of it are* Jansenius's, *and in the sense of* Jansenius *condemned.* And there is no reason but we may expect a command of believing the Pope's Infallibility in this latter kind in matters of *fact*, as formerly intimated in matters of *right*.

And if this be established, that the Pope is infallible also in matters of fact; and if he be pleased to declare that any of us in particular is an Heretic, or has delivered an heretical Proposition, woe be to him so declared to be an Heretic by the Pope. All Christians subject to the Pope, must then look upon him as an Heretic, and proceed against him accordingly with all those severities fulminated by Canons against Heretics. Mr. *I. S.* accuses me to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* of having said, that *there is no salvation in the Catholic Church;* a proposition, in my own opinion, heretical and blasphemous, taken in its proper literal and right sense; not at present to take notice of some crooked improper sense, which Mr. *I. S.* may pretend, and which may render my discourse obscure. This testimony so evidently false he charges upon me, my book being extant in the hands of some hundreds of persons, and myself living to declare the falsehood of it; yet his confidence is such, that having no evidence, nor so much as having attempted to prove the truth of his accusation, he will have my Lord Lieutenant to proceed to the utmost severity against me, commanding me to be burned for Blasphemy. Little may he expect from his Excellency a judgment so unjust and rash; but how far he may speed in *Rome* with the same accusation, though false, I cannot say. Of their integrity in proceeding to judgment without hearing the parties, I can have no assurance.

time that they all professed to be governed by Tradition—declared their submission to the unerring authority of the Church—and looked up to Rome as the centre of Unity, even whilst openly resisting its decisions! (*L'Enfant's Preservatif.* tom. iv. p. 216, or the *Ecclesiastical History of the Times.*)

It is also worth remark, that in this memorable Controversy, Messrs. *Arnauld, Nicolle,* and all their learned adherents, made use of the *same* arguments against their adversaries, to which they would afterwards allow no merit when urged by *Protestants.* In support of their own cause they appealed to argument and truth; and the immutability of truth was urged as a sufficient reason, to withstand the authority of all their Ecclesiastical Superiors." *A General Defence of the Principles of the Reformation, in a Letter to the Rev. J. Berington,* by Rev. J. Hawkins; (Worcester, 1788) pp. 108-10.—Mr. Hawkins had been a Roman Priest, but became a member of the Church of England.

* [In the Dedication to his book.—Ed.]

If they declare me to be the author of the Proposition imposed upon me by Mr. *I. S.*, that *in the Catholic Church there is no salvation*, and consequently [denounce me as] guilty of heresy and blasphemy; and all must receive their declaration as infallible, according to that increase of Infallibility in matters of fact ascribed of late to the Pope by his prime favourites—what mischief may I not expect from all those who fancy that they are doing a special service to God in destroying Heretics?

But it is not my particular concern, nor of so great moment now to exhibit the enormity or danger of this consequence. He accuses the whole Church of Protestants of heresy and blasphemy in a high degree, declaring that it is their common doctrine that it is impossible to keep God's commandments; which proposition, in its literal full sense, is certainly heretical and blasphemous, being derogatory to God's justice and goodness, and diametrically opposite to the doctrine of Christ, as I have shewn in the VIIIth Chapter; where also I have proved how falsely such a doctrine is imposed upon the whole Church of England. But if our adversary obtains a definition from the Pope, that we are in effect guilty of that error, in what condition shall we stand with our neighbours? Our innocency in the case will not avail. What if Mr. *I. S.*, or others like him, should accuse some eminent Christian Prince of Heresy, though with as little truth as we have seen in his accusation of me, and of the Church of England, as just mentioned to have proceeded:—if the malice of neighbours, hunting after the lands of such a Prince and of his subjects, disposed to rebel against him, should unite in accusing him of heretical pravity, and the Pope thereupon should proceed to deliver his infallible judgment respecting such a Prince, that he *was* an heretic in effect;—in what a miserable condition must that Prince be, as regards credit and interest, to be looked upon by all men as an undoubted heretic; his subjects absolved from their allegiance to him, and his lands exposed to be the prey of any stronger hand, authorized by the Pope, according to the procedure of that Court: whereof many dismal tragedies are to be found in the Chronicles of England, Germany, Navarre, and other kingdoms of Europe.*

* Such as Spain, which Gregory VII. claimed as the property of St. Peter. 'I believe you are not ignorant,' (he writes, Epist. lib. 4. 28, to the Kings of Spain)

The establishing of this power in the Pope of *Rome*, so destructive to the peace and safety of Christian people and Princes, being the aim of Mr. *I. S.'s* tedious and intricate discourses in favour of his *unerring, unerrable Church*, and that declared by himself, he may expect when the time arrives that all Christian people are becoming perfectly blind and mad, to have his doctrine received.

And now having seen how successful he has been in setting up the grand Engine of the Pope's Infallibility, or the Infallibility of the Church governed by the Pope (by whichsoever name he is pleased to term it*) to put us to silence as to farther debates—as truly he had need—accordingly he appears ill furnished to enter upon a consideration of them. We will now proceed to see how ill armed he is to encounter the particular points which I proposed as the motives of my discontent with the Roman Church.

that for several centuries St. Peter has been Proprietor of the Kingdom of *Spain* —that though that country has for a long time been invaded by the Infidels, it cannot be justly denied to be his property, and that it belongs to the Holy Apostolic See'—one would think so by the enormous sums sent out of that country to Rome; see *Protest. Guardian* 1828, p. 380; Cuninghame's *Church of Rome the Apostasy*, p. 57; *Concil. Gen. studio Labbei*, tom. x. col. 175.

* It is shewn in Dr. White's *Way to the True Church*, (digress. 16) that after all their importunate brags about *Catholic Church*, and their specious queries "why will Protestants be wiser than the *Catholic Church?*" that "this Church, when things come to the reckoning, is nothing else but the Pope!"

## CHAPTER XV.

Mr. I. S.'s *defence of the Pope's Supremacy declared to be vain. Their pretence to a Monarchical power over all Christians, whether in spirituals or temporals, proved to be unjust and tyrannical.*

Our Adversary will have us receive for an article of faith, the Supreme power of the Pope [of Rome] over all Christians in spiritual affairs. Whether he enjoys a similar supreme power over Princes in temporal concerns, he leaves to our discretion to believe as we please, the case being disputable. And indeed it is a courtesy in Mr. *I. S.* to permit us this liberty even respecting temporal affairs, and beyond commission from the Court of Rome; as may appear by what we have already, and shall have to adduce in this Chapter.

But what he allows him of Supremacy in spiritual government over all other Bishops, and over all Christians, is certainly more than is his right; more than Christ gave him, and more than St. Peter had, whose successor the Pope pretends to be. He will never find any mention in Ecclesiastical history, of any claim which St. *Peter* ever pretended to have of power over St. *James* in *Jerusalem;* St. *Andrew* in *Achaia*, over St. *Thomas* in the *Indies*,* or over any other of the Apostles in their respective

* It has been customary to assign the founding of this Church to St. Thomas, but as was remarked in the Notes in pt. I. with very little probability. Still, "though we cannot attribute to the Church of Christ in India, an Apostolic origin, yet there are reasonable grounds for assigning to it a date very little posterior to the Apostolic age. It is generally believed that St. *Mark* the Evangelist founded the Church at *Alexandria (Euseb. Hist. Ec.* 2. 16.) Like other mercantile towns, its population was composed of the Inhabitants of all the nations with which they carried on trade. Of these the Jews formed no inconsiderable portion There were also vast numbers of strangers, not only from Syria, Lybia, Cilicia, Ethiopia and Arabia, but also from Bactria, Scythia, Persia and India, who were drawn thither by the attractions of its mart; * * * * * * and the progress of Christianity to India at that early period may be traced with some probability." Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1 pp. 43, 44.

Provinces; no dependence of them upon him. None of those more worthy first Bishops of Rome (for 500 years) ever pretended to any such Supremacy, if we are to believe one of the best of them, Gregory the Great, in his many Epistles written against the ambition of *John*, Patriarch of Constantinople, pretending to such a calling of Universal Bishop.

Neither did he therein act for himself as he formally protests, in order to obviate the malice of those who would cast that aspersion upon his proceeding herein, *In damnando generalitatis nomine*, says he, *nostrum specialiter aliquid non amamus.** Neither could the reasons which he alleges against the ambition of *John* of *Constantinople* consist with a pretension to such a Prerogative in favour of his own See, namely, that it is to rob Christ of his Privilege of being head of the Universal Church; that if the whole Church were subject to and depending upon one man, then he falling into Heresy, all the Church would fall with him.†

How foul an aspersion Papists cast upon this good Pope *Gregory* the Great, affirming that he would arrogate to himself the title which he reprehended in *John* of *Constantinople*, may appear by those words of his, Epistle 36, just quoted, and addressed to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to *Athanasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, saying—*The name of Universal Bishop, was by the holy Council of* Chalcedon *offered only to the Bishop of the See Apostolic, in which by God's Providence I serve; but none of my predecessors ever consented to use this profane calling. For if one Patriarch or Bishop be called Universal, the name of a Bishop is taken from the rest. But far be this; far be it from the mind of a Christian, that any one should assume to himself any thing which may seem to diminish in the least the honour of his brethren.*‡ How can this consist with

* Greogius lib. 4. *Regist. Ep.* 36.

† Jactantiam sumsit, ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis, ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare, et cum fortasse in errore perit, qui Universalis dicitur, nullus jam Episcopus remansisse in statu veritatis invenitur.—*Ibid.*

‡ Uni per Sanctam Chalcedonensem Synodum Pontifici sedis Apostolicæ, cui Deo disponente deservio, hoc Universitatis nomen oblatum est. Sed nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit, quia vide-

saying, that Gregory claimed for himself that calling which he reprehended in *John of Constantinople*, since he declares that his predecessors ever refused that title, and alleges reasons which prove that none ought to admit it?*

The same *Gregory* is the first author whom I find to have accused of Anti-Christianism, the pretension of the Pope to Supremacy over all Christians, in the person of the aforesaid *John* Patriarch of *Constantinople;* of whose ambitious pretension to the same Supremacy, he writes thus to the Empress Constantina:—*And what may we understand by this kind of pride, but that the time of Antichrist is near? since he imitates him, who, despising the social joy of angels, endeavoured to rise up to the height of singularity, saying, I will ascend into Heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the Congregation in the sides of the North; I will ascend above the height of the clouds; I will be like the* Most High.† This singularity of the Bishops of *Rome,* in despising a fair and brotherly society with other Bishops, and pretending a Supremacy over all, and an equality with God in several of his privileges, gave occasion for their being in after ages called Anti-Christs.

Certainly this ambition of being head of the Universal Church, a privilege granted in Scripture to Christ alone; the boldness of preferring his own laws to the laws of Christ, whereof we have given several instances, bear great affinity to the qualities of

licet si unus Patriarcha Universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur. Sed absit, absit hoc a Christiani mente, id sibi velle quempiam arripere, unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantulacunque parte videatur.

* Allowance must be made for our author here, as in some few other things, in which he may not reach the standard of our Theologians, considering whence he had so recently emerged. Gregory in his eagerness, has either overlooked, or was not acquainted with, several instances, in which some of his predecessors had been thus addressed, though they might not then *claim* the title; see Basnagii *Annales Politico—Ecclesiastici* (Roterod. 1706) tom. 3. p. 926. More accessible sources for obtaining a full solution of the question at issue may perhaps be allowed us to point out in Allport's *Translation of Bp. Davenant on the Colossians,* where the reader is referred to the Note on this point in vol. 1. p. 13.

† Sed in hoc ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designatur? quia illum videlicet imitatur, qui spretis in sociali gaudio Angelorum legionibus ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, dicens, &c. Lib. 4 Ep. 34.

Antichrist described in Scripture. And *Gregory's* prediction, that the usurpation of this Supremacy would prove a calamity to the Church, is found to be too true. All the combustions and dismal contentions which afflicted this kingdom for a whole age, proceeded from the Pope's pretensions to Supremacy. It is not the intrinsic quality of speculative doctrines of faith controverted; it is not the alterations of Ceremonies or language in Divine Service which ministered fuel to this fatal fire; all these things might be easily agreed upon if we would but allow Supremacy to the Pope,* or he would relinquish his pretension to it. Of this we have certainty, by what Sir Roger Twysden affirms out of warrantable histories and relations, that Pope Paul IV. finding his fierceness could not avail with Queen Elizabeth, offered, namely, *to let things remain as they were, provided the Queen would acknowledge his Primacy, and a Reformation from him.*† It was not the loss of souls, but the loss of *Peter-pence* and command, which troubled him, and made him and his successors bring so much trouble on us all.

His successor Pius IV. proffered the same conditions to the Queen, by letters written May 5, 1560, and which were sent by *Vincentio Parpalia;* and gave assurance of it to a Nobleman of England, that he would comply with her request to the utmost of his power, provided she would allow his Primacy—*In ejus gratiam, quæcunque possim præterea facturus, dum illa ad nostram Ecclesiam se recipiat, et debitum mihi primatus titu-*

* The Supremacy is ever a main point with the Church of Rome; admit her authority and pay her pecuniary demands, and you may say and do almost what you like. Cyril Lucar writes most truly: "Cum autem Græci instent, atque probant, non esse, neque se velle cognoscere in *Romana Ecclesia* plus auctoritatis, neque per *divinas*, neque per *humanas leges*, quam in propriis Patriarchis, ideoque ut iis, sic Romano esse facile posse labi. Insurgit *εἰς σμῆνος* Jesuitarum, inter-quos Aristarchus quidam, *Sanderus* nomine, in suo Chronologio, qui profuse plures recenset (si diis placet) errores Græcorum; at omnes in unum tendunt, *nihil emin omnes essent, si tantum Papæ Romano crederent*, eumque Superiorem vellent, atque profiterentur in terris Christi Vicarium, quia vero hoc negant facturi, excommunicantur, et condemnantur." *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, et de fausseté de pleusieurs confessions de Foi.* par J. Aymon; (a la Haye, 1708) p. 138. For additional instances see Hough's *Hist. of Christianity in India*, vol. 1, pp .310, 440.

† *Tortura Torti*, p. 148.

*lum mihi reddat.** And surely he who can dispense with the laws of God, and alter them as we have seen Popes do, may better dispense with, and alter, what other Popes decreed against the Reformation. Priests may marry, the people may drink consecrated wine at Communion, they may pray in English, &c. if they would but allow his Primacy, and with it their Pence to the Pope. Here lies *Petra scandali, the stumbling-block*, and *lapis offensionis*. Ambition and avarice cloaked with Religion profaned the Church, and put the world into confusion. See the fact here alleged, and proof of it in Sir Roger Twisden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, chap. ix.; where he adds,† that on relating this passage to an Italian gentleman versed in public affairs, he had this reply from him: *If this were heard in Rome among religious men, it would never gain credit; but with such as have in their hands the* maneggi della corte—*the management of affairs, it may be held true.* Such as understand the mystery of the Roman Court do know, that ambition and interest is the *primum mobile* and soul which animates all their motions. So true we find Gregory's prediction to be, that the usurpation of this Supremacy would prove a calamity to the Church.

I am to take notice here of another reason which *Gregory* gives why the former good Bishops of Rome his predecessors would not accept of this proud calling: *Nullus eorum unquam hoc singularitatis vocabulum assumpsit, nec uti consensit, ne dum privatum aliquid daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privarentur Universi—No one of the ancient Bishops of Rome* (for 600 years) *took upon him the calling of Supreme or Universal Bishop, nor permitted it to be given to them, lest the singularity given to one, should deprive the Clergy of due honour.*‡ And this indeed was the consequence of the Pope's inconsiderate ambition in this matter. To it we may attribute the very great contempt which has fallen upon the Clergy in general in this corrupt age. The extravagant and boundless ambition of the

* The expressions are more general in the Latin Letter which is included in Dr. Cardwell's *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, (Oxford, 1839.) vol. 1. 233.

† Twisd. c. IX. p. 177.

‡ St. Greg. lib. 4. Ep. 60. 76.

Bishops of *Rome* makes men fearful to allow even decent and due authority to the Clergy; lest they should improve it to the prejudice of Christian people and princes, as now we shall find that the Popes did, generally.

This proud title, which Gregory called *Blasphemous* and *Anti-Christian*, his successor, *Boniface* III., took upon himself, by the assistance of the Emperor *Phocas*, who being offended with Cyriac, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for sheltering from his fury the Empress *Constantina* relict of *Maurice* [and her daughters] and the immunity of his Church which they had made their Sanctuary, transferred to *Boniface* the title of *Universal Bishop; (Baron. an.* 606.) which dignity and title the following Popes advanced so far, that *Innocent* III. compares the Papal dignity and regal to the sun and moon; so that the Papal dignity exceeds the regal on earth, as much as the sun exceeds the moon in the heavens.* And lest you should not understand how much the Pope is made greater than Kings by this comparison, the Gloss furnishes you with this singular explanation of it, saying—*that since the earth is seven times greater than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth, it must needs follow that the Pope's power is forty-seven times greater than that of Kings.*† I leave the ingenious reader to consider the heap of absurdities contained in this Gloss, as suitable to that text of it; the offence against Latin, Arithmetic and Astronomy contained in it, and much more against truth; for the Regal Dignity being *Solo Deo minor* (as Tertullian writes‡) it cannot be a moon to any other sun.

But all this (says Mr. *I. S.*) is to be understood of a spiritual power; that is the pretext: But that spiritual power must be assisted by the temporal; and where the word will not do, the

* Ad firmamentum cœli, id est, Universalis Ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, hoc est, duas instituit potestates, Pontificalem et Regalem, &c. ut quanta inter Solem et Lunam, tanta inter Pontifices et Reges differentia cognoscatur. Innocent. Ter. Ep. ad Imp. Constantin. Decret. lib. 1. *de majoritate et obedientia*, tit. 33. cap. solit.

† Igitur cum terra sit septies major Luna, Sol autem octies major Terra, restat ergo ut Pontificalis dignitas quadragesies septies sit major Regali dignitate. Gloss. in decret. præd. [See some remarks upon the Pope's perversion of the text and gloss, and a curious illustration of this Arithmetic in Abp. Laud's *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit;* sect. 26. §. 11, 12. Ed.]

‡ Tertul. *ad Scap.* [§. 2.]

sword must follow. So the same *Innocent* III. declared in the third *Lateran* Council, and acted accordingly with King John of England, as other Popes did with several Emperors and Kings, mentioned in the 45th page of my discourse;* divesting them of their Kingdoms and Dominions, and absolving their subjects from their allegiance to them.

Mr. *I. S.* affirms that the *Lateran* Council† did not assume the power of deposing Princes, but finding it a probable opinion among Divines, grounded their Fact upon that opinion, and issued their Decree of that punishment against such Princes. In a good condition truly the world stands, if it is to be governed by such Councils as these. If any opinion found probable among Divines may be a sufficient ground for forming a Conciliar Definition or Decree; what desperate Definitions and Decrees may we not expect from their Councils, when we see so many desperate opinions come forth daily among their Divines, and all regarded as probable, if countenanced by an author or two of reputation for learning?

* Page 37 of the present volume.

† This Lateran Council has met with curious treatment in this *Protestant* country; various parties for various reasons being desirous of persuading Protestants that the enactments were of a very partial or temporary nature; though, in this latter respect (just supposing there is good ground for the assertion) it would nevertheless admirably illustrate the policy of the Roman See—*omnia pro tempore* being one of her most cherished maxims.

In very modern times "Dr. Doyle, when asked whether the doctrine of the Extermination of Heretics is not declared in the 3rd Canon of the 4th Lateran Council, swears in the very teeth of the words of the Canon '*very far from it!!*' See p. 64. Yet the first act of himself and his brethren in their Provincial Synod of 1831, is to set this Canon up for the Law under which Bishops were to exterminate heretics from their Dioceses.—See Supplement to Dens, vol. viii. p. 83, edit. Coyne, Dublin, 1832. He swears that 'it was not mentioned as a part of the Council by any writer for nearly three hundred years after the Council was held,' (see p. 64) while he himself and his co-provincials set it up as the Law to exterminate heretics, quoting it from the Pope Benedict XIV., and the very words of the authority which they cite are these, after adducing several other authorities for exterminating heretics, 'that we may not waste our time in illustrating a matter, undoubted among all, it will be sufficient to allege one sanction of Innocent III. in the 4th General Council of Lateran of the year 1215, in which c. 3, *de hæreticis* bishops are ordered every year, &c.' (See Benedict. de Syn. Diœc. as cited in the Supplement to Dens.") M'Ghee's *Laws of the Papacy in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1839,) p. 91. See also in the *Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretall. Greg.* IX. *lib.* v. *tit.* 7. §. 13.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*How falsely Mr.* I. S. *affirms that the Irish did not suffer by the Pope's Prohibition against subscribing to the Remonstrance of fidelity proposed to them.*

I BEMOANED the misery of the Irish who were prohibited severely by the Pope, from subscribing a Remonstrance of fidelity proposed to them, and in which it was proposed to disclaim the Pope's power of deposing Kings, though they should suffer ever so many penalties and suspicions for it. This Mr. *I. S.*, with his usual confidence, thinks proper to call a Fiction,* not caring to be openly convicted of an untruth. Whether the Irish did not undergo suspicions and disfavours for refusing to subscribe to the said Remonstrance let themselves tell. Whether such as subscribed were not persecuted by the Pope and his emissaries, with censures and manifold vexations, let two copious volumes published upon the subject declare, the one in Latin by *Richard Caron*, the other in English by *Peter Walsh*,† largely relating, and

* It is "a mere fiction, as wittingly as maliciously invented to make the Pope odious to the People: That the Irish should have suffered for that cause is false, but it is very true that they suffered for not swearing the contrary doctrine, *That the Pope has no such Powers;* which no man can swear whereas he is not certain of it; and whereas it is a question disputed in the schools if he has or has not, that Power; how can any man in conscience swear either part to be true?"—*I. S.s' Unerring and Unerrable Church*, p. 185.

† Both these works are exceedingly rare. Caron's was published *cum lic. et priv. Superiorum*, A.D. 1665, in folio. This book was doubtless printed abroad; and Walsh's in 1674, a copy of which sold at Mr. Charles Butler's sale lately for £15. See Dibdin's *Library Companion*, p. 246. But the reasons for the publication of these works will be more accurately stated from Dr. Curry, and Dr. O'Conor, both Roman Catholics.

"On account of a severe persecution, at this time, raised against them, and in hopes of removing all future pretence of the same, the Catholics of Ireland agreed upon a *Remonstrance*, and Protestation of their Loyalty, which was couched in the strongest and most explicit terms, as in Walsh's *Remonstrance* (p. 9) and sent it by the Earl of Fingal to Mr. Walsh, an Irish Franciscan then in London, who was an humble confidant of the Duke of Ormond, by whom it

learnedly refuting the unjust proceedings of the Pope and his Emissaries upon this subject. I received myself from Cardinal

was immediately presented to his Majesty, and most graciously received. Walsh having soon after come to Ireland, in order to get this Remonstrance signed by all the Roman Catholic Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry of the Kingdom (as many of them as were in London, when it was presented, having signed it there) succeeded so well, as to obtain in a short time, the signatures of 69 of the Clergy secular and regular, 5 Earls, 6 Viscounts, 2 Barons, 24 Colonels and Baronets, and 60 Esquires and Gentlemen. But the Duke of Ormond affected to believe that there could be no reliance on any declaration of Loyalty from the Catholic body, until the *whole body* of their Clergy had first unanimously subscribed it. He therefore wrote a letter to Walsh, signifying his desire to know who had subscribed, and who had refused to subscribe. His Grace already knew, that as this Protestation had been censured by some Ministers of the Court of Rome, on account of its *somewhat* entrenching on the Pope's *spiritual* authority, it would be hardly possible to prevail on such of the Irish Clergy, as had expectations from that Court to subscribe it in the same offensive terms, in which it was conceived—yet from 1661 till this present, that is, the end of 1666, says Walsh in his *Remonstrance*, vol. 42, there was not among such a number of pretences and excuses, any one alleged, by any at all, of *unlawfulness*, *unconscionableness*, or *uncatholicness*, in point of *Faith*, *Religion*, or *Morality*, in the Subscription of that *Remonstrance*.—In fact the whole scrupulosity turned upon fear of the Court of Rome.*

But the Nobility and Gentry were not quite so scrupulous in this respect; for in order to convince the Duke of Ormond that the refusal of any number of their Clergy should be no hindrance to their subscribing *in terminis* to the Remonstrance, they assembled at Lord Clanrickard's house in Dublin; and as many Noblemen and Gentlemen as were then present, in number 33, put their names to it, who, with the London subscribers, made in all 121, whereof 21 were Earls, Viscounts and Barons.†

The preceding is taken from Curry's History of the Civil Wars; then Dr. O'Conor proceeds:—

"Now this is that identical Remonstrance, for the adoption of which our Nobility, our Gentry, and the second order of our Clergy, who signed it, were in virtue of spiritual jurisdiction, ordered by Pope Alexander VII. to be whipped on their bare backs before they could be absolved from the *Excommunicatio major Latæ Sententiæ*, which they had, forsooth, incurred by adopting it!! The 24 Irish Priests, who signed it in London, were deprived of their livings; disqualified from all Priestly functions; denied the benefit of Christian Sacraments living; forewarned that they should be denied Christian burial when dead; and

* Dr. O'Conor remarks here in a Note that Walsh, Coppinger, and others, Irish Priests, who favoured the *Remonstrance*, were calumniated as *favourers of Protestantism* by the Romish Priests; but that they were most unanswerably justified in Walsh's *Causa Vulesiana*, Londini, 1684.

† One of the crimes imputed, says Dr. O'Conor, to the English Roman Catholics was their adoption of the Oath of Allegiance proposed by James I. It was condemned by Paul V., approved by the Sorbonne, in 1680.

*Rospigliosi*, then *Internuncio* in *Brussels*,* a Copy of Cardinal Francis Barbarini's Letter to him, intimating the Pope's will and command, that the Irish should not subscribe to the said *Re-*

summoned to appear within a limited time in Foreign Conntries* before Courts of Inquisition, which were invested with a power of inflicting perpetual confinement, and even death! tribunals which were in actual hostility to our Government and to our Country! No Clergyman was promoted to any dignity—unless he professed his abhorrence of the *Remonstrance*, and of its schismatical subscribers, and unless he confederated in this detestable persecution of truth and justice, and of unreserved temporal allegiance to a Protestant Government, even to the very death! *Causa Vales*. p. 40." Dr. O'Conor's *Address, part* 1. pp. 105—110, Buckingham, 1810.

Although Walsh, and the Subscribers to the Remonstrance were, we fully believe, acting honestly, it is doubtful from the view given in Dr. Phelan's *Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*, (p. 282, Dublin, 1827,) whether the Subscribers could have followed out their Remonstrant opinions—in fact the Duke of Ormond was correct in the opinion which he had formed (as appeared most fully by the issue) and the Subscribers were sadly contravening the management of their Church in *themselves* drawing up any oath or abjuration at all. This they ought, it seems, to have *left* to the other party to do; for we are informed in Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 155, that the Court of Rome was much displeased with Panzani for meddling about the Oath in England. Rome, the Cardinal Barbarini states, should be *passive* on such a subject, and not expose the form to Protestant examination and decision; this would not, of course, suit the *ανυ πεύθυνοι* of the Vatican.

* "The Nuncio at Brussels went so far as to give to these Ecclesiastics of the second order, the nicknames of *Valesian Heretics*, in hopes of detaching them from Walsh *(Valesius)* and he summoned them to appear before him as such in Flanders, and to be sent into exile in Spain and Italy, where they should be tried by the Inquisition!

He added that the *Remonstrance* contained damnable Doctrines, which were condemned by two successive Pontiffs, Paul V., and Innocent X., when King James proposed his Oath of Allegiance in 1606; he declared in a letter to the Rev. Bonaventure, alias *Flin M'Bruoden*, dated Brussels, Oct. 2, 1663, that this infamous heretical Remonstrance will injure the Church *more than any former persecution*—quam quævis anteacta hæreticorum persecutio; and exhorted the Irish to Martyrdom, rather than, by signing such a damnable document, to apostatize!!" *An Historical Address on the Calamities occasioned by Foreign Influence*, &c., by C. O'Conor, D.D., (Buckingham, 1812,) pp. 159—161.

It may well be asked what Oath a Roman Catholic is allowed to *give* to a Protestant Government—he can *take* one sometimes we see.

* Decretum citat Vallisoletanum, Matriti, editum anno 1699, contra Valesium, Coppingerum et sequaces, per Nuntium Hispaniarum Apost. Definitorii Præsidem.

The Pope's Minister at Brussels issued another order, dated Brussels, Jan. 8, 1670, commanding Walsh, under pain of excommunication, *Latæ Sententiæ*, to appear before him within the space of 15 days after the receipt of his orders! *Causa Vales*, p 86. The Commissarius Generalis *Herinx* is indeed so *kind* as to promise him, in a letter written seven years after, that if he will obey these citations, he shall have a—safe conduct!

*monstrance*, and the censure of the Theological Faculty of Lovain, declaring the said Remonstrance to be repugnant to the truth of Catholic Religion; and therefore unlawful and abominable, such as no man may subscribe to without Sacrilege. And being questioned what part of the Remonstrance merited so grave a censure, they answered, it was *the denial of a power in the Pope, of making war by himself, or by others against our King,—for usurping the Primacy due to the Pope, and retaining unjustly the lands of the British Church. In which case*, say they, *it may not be lawful for Catholics to oppose the Pope making war, or favour the King usurping the Pope's rights.** Thus the warlike Theologians of *Flanders* beat to arms, and denounce war against the opposers of their Church, which according to the rules of Mahomet must be defended with the sword, when words will not do. And must not all this administer an occasion of jealousy to our King? Though it will not make Mr. *I. S.* believe, that the practices of the Pope and his Emissaries hereby occasioned any sufferings to the Irish!

What the aforesaid author† relates is also remarkable, that Cardinal *Francis Barbarini* being questioned by one of his acquaintance, why the English and Irish Papists may not disclaim that doctrine of King-deposing power in the Pope, as some of the French [Ecclesiastics presume to] do; he answered, It is not the fashion with the French to consult them of Rome in such cases. But the Irish and English in consulting them, were to expect that they would decide in Rome what was more agreeable to their presumed right. I like the Cardinal's noble dealing in delivering the truth of the matter; but whether it be a noble proceeding in them at Rome, to aggravate the miseries of the English and Irish who are suffering for their sake, let *Ovid* say,

*At Lupus et turpes instant morientibus Ursæ,*
*Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera est—*

That it is the nature of bears and wolves, and such like ignoble brutes, to insult over those that are down, and to kill the dying. It behoves men to stand firm against the Pope; for if they stoop he will throw them quite down.

* Vide Caron *in Rem. Hibern. contra Lovaniens.* part 1, cap. 5, p. 19. *Sall.*
† Caron supra, cap. 4, p. 15. *Sall.*

[It may convey to the reader some insight into the circumstances of these times and give some notion of the trouble which well-disposed Roman Catholics were content to undergo in framing and taking an oath, such as they fancied they would be allowed by their Church to take, for the satisfaction of a Protestant Sovereign; and also furnish some idea of the grievous disappointments, checks, reproofs, and denials, which they met with from their own Church, by quoting a few pages from Dr. Charles O'Conor's able pen.

"It happened that in the course of that year [1664] the Pope's Nuncio, *De Vecchiis*, landed in London. What brought him thither it becomes not Dr. O'C. to say; he enquires not into motives, he relates *facts*—De Vecchiis had travelled from Brussels to pay a visit to Cardinal *Ghigi*, the Pope's Legate *a Latere*, at Paris, and this journey was performed whilst the affair of the Irish *Remonstrance* was agitated in Ireland with very great warmth, and with no small danger to the exorbitant influence of the Court of Rome.

"Having had many Conferences with Ghigi, he returned to Brussels; but, for reasons best known to himself, he took London, *incognito*, in his way; and for other reasons best known to him, he called upon the Queen at Somerset House: and there for other reasons, no doubt, he passed most of his time, during his short residence in the Capitol. It becomes not Dr. O'C. to enquire into State affairs; but matters were so managed that the principal leaders of the *Remonstrants* were made acquainted with his arrival; and they were also informed that he was to make no stay, but immediately to depart for Flanders. On this information Walsh and Carron went at an appointed time to pay him their respects, intending also to expostulate with him for so many of his letters, and for those too of Cardinal *Barberini*, in which they stigmatized the Irish *Remonstrants* as a sect, asserting most impudently that they had apostatized from the Catholic faith, endeavouring, consequently, to withdraw the ignorant mass of the Irish people from their allegiance, and so preparing them for a Rebellion, in such contingencies, or on such specious pretexts, as the discontents of many would approve, and the Court of Rome, or some of their inconsiderate Divines would allow.

"They met the Nuncio in one of the areas of Somerset House. The Rev. Patt. *Magin*, one of her Majesty's Chaplains, accompanied him, and was present at the Conference, which lasted three hours, from ten in the morning till one in the afternoon.

"After Walsh had shewn, that in the Loyal Remonstrance, there was not one tittle repugnant to Catholic Faith, the Nuncio replied, *You think so—but his Holiness thinks otherwise.* His Holiness, said Walsh, is misinformed with respect to the intent and object of this Formulary which is nothing more than a Declaration of Allegiance, merely in *temporals;* and so also, added he, was *Paul* V. misinformed by the English Jesuit *Parsons*, of the intent of that other Oath of Allegiance, which *James* I. proposed in 1606 to distinguish the Loyal Catholics from those who were engaged in the Gun-powder Plot.—Here the Nuncio, with some warmth, rejoined—*Ego informavi—I am he who informed his Holiness.* I am sorry for it, said Walsh—for with your good leave, my Lord, *you have not rightly informed him.* Carron now interposed, begging of the Nuncio to point out any proposition in that Formulary which was repugnant to Catholic Faith. To which the Nuncio again replied, '*You think there is none—but the Holy See thinks otherwise.*'

"Carron and Walsh, the one after the other, replied—that *general allegations* were to no purpose; that even though the Pope had condemned the *Remonstrance*, yet as he was not infallible, they would not, merely on that account, be compelled to yield up the truth; and that the *Holy See*, the *Roman Court*, and the *Catholic Church*, were three very different things;—and now the Nuncio looking more kindly, or at least with less superciliousness, moderately intreated them to lay aside all thoughts of the *Remonstrance*, and rather think of some other *Medium*, whereby they might obtain the King's favour for the Catholics of their native country.

"Another Medium! say they;—this is the Medium which the Government requires, that we should renounce the *deposing Power*—we know no other.

"'I know a better,' said the Nuncio—'the Pope shall issue a Bull to all the Irish, commanding them, on pain of Excommunication, to be henceforth faithful to the King.'

"Indeed, my Lord! said Walsh, why, that, if accepted, would

make the King a vassal of the Pope, and a very King of Cards—I hope his Majesty has some better and surer means to rely on, than any Bull of Excommunication.

"'Then,' says the Nuncio, 'I propose this other *Medium*.—The Pope shall grant and create as many Bishops, and Abp-bishops of Ireland, as his Viceroy, the Duke of Ormond, will desire, and those very persons whom they shall fix upon; and moreover his Holiness shall empower those persons, so created Prelates, to dismiss, and send away out of Ireland, all Catholic Clergymen, of all descriptions, whom they shall find to be disloyal to the King, or even suspected of disloyalty.'*

"This is more specious than the former, said Walsh, but yet there is nothing even in this Medium; but what was, and is, the King's by ancient right; I mean banishing of all disturbers: otherwise he would, in an essential point of *temporal Sovereignty*, acknowledge his own dependance on a foreign temporal power; and, considering the strict Oath of allegiance and obedience which [R.] Catholic Bishops take to the Pope, before Consecration, and not they alone, but all orders of *beneficed* Clergy, according to the present practice; and must also take even expressly, against all those whom they deem Heretics, this last proposed *Medium* is inadequate, if the doctrine of our Remonstrance is condemned. It would prove, in effect, only a Medium to fortify the Pope's pretensions, and let all Irish Catholics loose, *whenever an occasion offered;* and especially the Irish Clergy, who, either by solemn vow, or promise, or oath, and by the tie also of many other obligations, and statutes, Provincial and Diocesan, are already bound fast enough to the *Court* of Rome.

"Here the Nuncio, seeing that the State of England would insist on the utter and unqualified abjuration of the deposing power, and of all Foreign interference in State affairs, looked at his watch, said it was One o'Clock, dinner-hour at that time; attended the summons to dinner which was conveyed to him by Philip Howard, afterwards Cardinal Howard, who took him to dine with the Queen, and without further ceremony, the two Irish agents were *left to shift for themselves.*

* *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 511, 512. Compare the Latin account of this Conference in Carron's Memoirs.

Here, then, it is plain that the Nuncio would not only have granted an *unlimited Veto* to a Protestant King, but also that he would have sacrificed the Irish Catholic Clergy to exile and imprisonment, *even on mere suspicion*, provided the Pope's claim to the deposing Power were acquiesced in by the Court of England."—Dr. O'Conor's *Columbanus*, No. 5. pp. 40—44. London, 1812.

It is strange that Walsh, Carron, Dr. O'Conor, Berington, and others, did not perceive that they were not members of the Church of Rome—that what they fancied to be that Church was in their imaginations and writings a *Reformed* body; and hence their invariable endeavour to clear *their* Church from almost all that is peculiar to the Pope's portion, constantly affirming *it* to be no doctrine of the *Catholic* Church, or what they themselves hold; and yet seeming to consider it hard that doctrines and practices should be attributed to the Church of Rome (as at present constituted) which they themselves reject; but which others of the same body, nearly as learned, and certainly as eminent, contend for most stoutly, and who, as we have seen, place all repugners to them, in the Class of Heretics. Which body then represents the Church of Rome? The latter Class undoubtedly—the Frenches, Riccinis, Serjeants, Milners, &c., &c., who uphold the peculiarities of that Church as distinguished from the Catholic.]

## CHAPTER XVII.

*The complaint of Papists against our King, for the Oath of Supremacy which he demands from his subjects, shewn to be unjust.*

Mr. *I. S.* slighting that matter of the *Remonstrance*, would have me condole with the Irish on account of their sufferings, for not taking the Oath of Supremacy to the King of England as Head of the Church, which he says is a cruelty against souls to demand from them. I do lament heartily the sufferings of the Irish in that respect, I mean their folly and blindness in suffering themselves to be so deluded by the arts of *Rome*, as to suppose Rebellion to be Religion;* and that it is Catholic piety, to transfer the obedience due to their natural Prince by God's command, to a foreigner, who has no other right over them than what by craft and cruelty he has usurped; as has been shewn in the Chapter preceding.

All this will be made clear to persons who will consider, that our Princes pretend not to any other Supremacy or power over their subjects, than such as the godly Kings of Israel enjoyed in their time over the Jews, and the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church over their respective subjects; as is asserted in the XXXVIIth. Article, and the VIIth. Canon of the Church of *England*, and as indeed our Princes execute, exercising even less power in Church affairs, than the Kings of Israel and the Christian Emperors did. Do but read the second book of Kings, commonly called the fourth, in the xxiii. Chapter, and see how

* At a much later period, the Nuncio of Brussels, *Ghilini*, condemned as heretical and impious, a book published in Dublin, 1767, intitled the *Catholic Manual*, because it asserted in the Appendix, that the Pope could not dispense in the Allegiance due by Catholics to their Sovereigns. The condemnation of this book, and proposition, is dated Brussels, June 29, 1770, and refers to a previous condemnation at Rome, dated 26th March the same year. Dr. O'Conor's *Columbanus* nr. 7. p. 62. London, 1816; See also *Index Lib. Prohib.* Romæ, 1786, p. 53.

forward the godly King Josiah was in reforming the Church, both Clergy and Laity; reading to them himself the book of the Covenant; removing unworthy Priests, and substituting lawful ones. The same course you will find in the Second Book of Chronicles, Chap. xxix. was pursued by Hezekiah; and the text, approving his proceedings in all this particular, declares—*He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done.* (vs. 2.) If you would but consider the proceedings of these two good Kings related in the aforementioned places, in connexion with the behaviour of our Princes in the several Convocations of their Clergy and people for the Reformation of the Church in these Kingdoms, you would find them not to have taken so much of the work upon them in their own persons, as those Kings of Israel did; but they commended to Prelates and Divines the examination of points belonging to Religion and the Government of the Church; holding themselves the sword and stern of Government in order to keep peace at home and defend them from foreign enemies.

Neither did our Saviour diminish, but rather confirm this supreme power of Princes over their subjects. We have his will intimated to us by St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 1. *Let every soul be subject unto the higher Powers;* where, by *higher powers*, St. Augustine and the other ancient Fathers understood the secular power of Princes; and the context itself is clear enough for that interpretation, as *Salmeron* confesses: *Patres veteres, et præcipuè Augustinus* (Ep. 54.) *Apostolum interpretantur de potestate seculari tantum loqui, quod et ipse textus subindicat.** And that to this power, not only seculars but all sorts of Ecclesiastical persons are subject, S. Chrysostom declares:—*Omnibus istæ interpretantur, et sacerdotibus, et Monachis,* &c.—*This is a command laid upon all men, whether they be Priests, or Monks, whether Apostles, Evangelists, or Prophets, or whoever they be:*† and St. Bernard considers well, that the very words of the text declared so much: *If every soul be subject unto the higher powers,* says he (writing to an Archbishop) *yours also must be*

* Salmer. *disp.* 4. *in Rom.* XIII.

† Chrysost. *Hom.* 23. *in Rom.* §. 1. Κἂν 'απόστολος ἦς, κἂν 'ευαγγελιστὴς, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν 'οστισοῦν—tom. 9. p. 752, Paris, 1837.

*likewise subject. Who hath exempted you from the general rule?* &c.*

Neither is it less certain, by the practice of the Church, both old and Christian, and by the authority of Fathers, that it belongs to Princes to protect and have an eye over their people in matters of Religion; to procure the integrity and reformation of it, when decayed. As for the Old Law, the cases produced above of Hezekiah and Josiah assure us, that this was the practice of the best Kings of those times. And if you consult the acts of *Constantine the Great*, of *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, of *Theodosius* the elder, *Justinian*, *Charles the Great*, and others the best of Christian Emperors, and greatest supporters of the Church's honour; you shall find them interposing frequently, and acting as moderators in the most important consultations respecting Religion and the good conduct of Church affairs.

It was a wonder to St. Augustine that any should doubt of its being the duty of an Emperor or a Prince to do so. *An forte de Religione fas non est ut dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator?—What, does it not belong to the Emperor, or to those whom he employs, to deliver an opinion concerning Religion?* † And elsewhere he declares *that* to be the chief care and charge of the Emperor, of which he is to give account to God; *ad Imperatoris curam de quâ rationem Deo redditurus est, res illa maximè pertinebat.*‡

Such being the case, viz. that it is the duty of our Princes to govern all the states and affairs of this Kingdom, and the duty of subjects to obey them in all, and that for conscience as St. Paul declares, Rom. xiii. 5., that *ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake*—how can I omit to condole the misery of my countrymen, and of others so deluded by the arts of Rome, as to take for a breach of conscience, what St. Paul declares to be a duty of conscience? I mean an acknowledgment of their Prince's supreme authority over all his subjects,

* Bernard. Ep. 42. *ad Henric. Archiep. Senonens.* [cap. 8. §. 31, &c. The Editors of Bernard's works have removed this letter, and placed it (on account of its length) amongst the *Opuscula*, where it is entitled *De officio Episcoporum.*]

† August. l. 1. in Epist. *contra. Ep. Parm.* c. 9.

‡ Ibid. Ep. 50. 162; [now reckoned Epist. 43. §. 13. edit. Benedict. tom. II. col. 94.]

and their obligation of obeying him accordingly. Especially when I see what St. Bernard saw and lamented; that it is not the welfare of souls, nor zeal for their salvation which makes the Court of Rome instil this horror into the hearts of men against their dutiful obedience and subjection to their Princes: *Non quod valdè Romnai curant quo fine res terminetur, sed quia valdè diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones—not that the Ministers of Rome regard much the end or purpose of controversies raised, provided they obtain their own ends in increasing their own interest and power.* I wish with all my heart with St. Bernard, that these corruptions of Rome were not so public and known to all the world. *Utinam nobis relinquerent moderni Noæ, unde á nobis possint aliquatenus operiri; nunc vero cernente Orbe mundi fabulam, soli tacebimus? I wish these modern Noahs would but leave us some possibility of covering their shame, but when all the world perceiving it, shall we alone be silent about it?**

Such being the case, consider, Mr. *I. S.*, how blind is your zeal, or how great your malice, in saying it would be a cruelty in our Princes to demand from their subjects an acknowledgment of their supreme power over them; and a blasphemy in them to acknowledge it. And in order to make us believe that it is so, you produce the authority of *Calvin.*† When I allege *Vasquez* or *Suarez's* doctrine to you, if it be not to your liking, you tell me they have been mistaken as well as I. So must I say to you at present of *Calvin*, that, if he be of your mind in this particular, he is mistaken, and in a foul error as well as yourself. Calvin and Luther have no more authority in the Church of *England*, than *Suarez and Vasquez* among you;‡ and I observe that you are as singularly impertinent, as unreasonable, wheresoever you speak to me about *Luther* and *Calvin:* it was not their writings

* Bernard. Ep. 42. ad Archiep. Senonens. [cap. 7. §. 29.]

† At p. 185 of *The Unerring and Unerrable Church.*

‡ This is not placing the case in quite a correct light. The two writers last mentioned were eminent Jesuits, and have received the highest praises in their Church—they are by no means private Doctors—and their writings are uncondemned by the Index either Prohibitory or Expurgatory. Their sentiments therefore are the sentiments of the Church of Rome, and she is far more bound by them, than the Church of England is by the publications of any, however justly eminent, individuals.

(which I never saw) that brought me to the Church of England, nor conserve me in it. The Scripture, Fathers, and the History of the Church, all wrought upon me. Upon them you are to address me, as I do you.

Many a thousand poor simple souls in these Kingdoms, misled by the Pope and his busy Emissaries, will exclaim against the Oath of Supremacy, without knowing or examining what it means, or what is their Prince's meaning in demanding it; lauding the Pope's Supremacy, much like those 200 seduced by Absalom to follow him out of Jerusalem, and to rebel against the King his Father, though at the time they thought they were doing service to the King. *And with Absalom went* 200 *men out of Jerusalem that were called; and they went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing.* 2 Sam. xv. 11. So it is with many, seduced by the arts and activity of *Rome;* they are led to deny submission to their lawful Prince, and transfer it to a foreign Usurper; thus under pretext of following a pretended Vicar of God, to rebel against God; inasmuch as St. Paul declares, that, *whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation,* (Rom. xiii. 2.)—a conclusion which he very legitimately deduces from a verity which he had immediately before premised, viz. that *the powers that be are ordained of God,* (v. 1.)

We are to believe in Charity that many have the excuse of those 200 seduced by *Absalom*—that *they went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing.* But the corruptions and impostures of *Rome* being so universally known, even in St. Bernard's time (as shewn above) and much more so now, we may justly fear that too many err with knowledge, or from want of due enquiry; and that thus resisting lawful power, they may receive to themselves damnation. Of which latter sort Mr. *I. S.* may seriously fear himself to be one, if he be so conversant with the doctrine of both Churches, Protestant and Popish, and with that of Primitive Christianity, as he pretends to be. This I commend to his mature consideration, while I pursue him in his undertaking about Transubstantiation.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Our Adversary's Essay in favour of Transubstantiation examined. His Challenge for solving two Syllogisms answered.*

Mr. *I. S.*, I generally find you very far from exact, and much unlike a scholar in your arguments; but especially so when you boast most, and stand in defiances. Now you defy all my Divinity to answer two Syllogisms, which you would have us believe to be of your own invention. But a little of my Logic will make both appear to be Paralogisms unworthy of any answer, no formal Syllogisms. The first grounded upon Luke xxii. 19. *Eat, this is my body which is given for you,* runs thus—*He gave to them what he gave for them; but what he gave for them was not a figure, but his real and true body; therefore what he gave to them was not a figure, but his real and true body.*—In this Syllogism nothing is new, but the form which you give it; and that is guilty of several offences against the rules of Logic. I say nothing is new in your argument; nor is there any sense or force added to it, by transferring the case from Christ giving the last Supper, to Christ suffering upon the Cross. Your Syllogism may be formed in this case as in the latter; thus—What Christ gave to his disciples at the last Supper was the same body which they saw speaking to them, and giving them the bread; the body which they saw speaking to them, and giving them the supper was a real body not a figurative; *Ergo,* though you had all the eyes of *Argus,* you will never discover any sense or force in your newly invented Syllogism, except that it is very trivial, and has been often answered.

But inasmuch as you conceive that there is some excellency in the form of your Syllogism, I will point out some of the imperfections of it. First it is guilty of that gross vice in arguing, *Petitio Principii,* or a begging of the question. In your *major proposition* you take for granted that which is constantly denied to you, that *he gave to them* really, *and not only figuratively, his flesh, which he gave for them.* If you will not understand it

so, but indeterminately, without deciding on the *mode* of giving his body to them, whether real or figurative; then you fall into another no less notorious vice in arguing, called *mutatio suppositi* —a changing of the supposition. In the *major proposition* our Saviour's body supposes indeterminately with you, prescinding from the mode. In the *minor* it supposes determinately, affixing it to a real or corporal mode. Hence appears a third vice in your Syllogism of arguing in four terms; taking up in the *Minor* a term which was not in the *Major,* to wit, the mode of giving his body *corporally;* and thence you proceed to join or identify in the conclusion, terms which you did not shew identified in any *medium,* neglecting herein that prime rule of reasoning—*Quæ sunt eadem uni tertio sunt eadem inter se.* To argue rightly and according to this rule, and without the vices now discovered in your Syllogism, you should have formed it thus—He gave *to* them what he gave *for* them, both in mode and substance; what he gave *for* them was his body not figurative, but real; therefore he gave it to them really.

Thus, your argument would wear the shape of a correct Syllogism, and your next work should have been to prove the *major* proposition—that Christ gave to the disciples what he gave for them both in mode and substance—which you will never be able to do. You say the text makes no distinction between what he gave *to* them and what he gave *for* them. But men's eyes did. They saw given for them upon the cross, a real organic human body; such as they did not see given to them at the supper. You say further, not only falsely, but blasphemously, that if we affirm that what he gave *to* them was but figurative, we must affirm also that what he gave *for* them was only figurative; and so fetch from Hell again the Heresy of *Marcion,* that what suffered for us was but a fantastical body.* You are too ready

* [See Tertul. *contra Marcion,* lib. 3. cap. 8. It will not be considered inapplicable here to quote an excellent remark of Ernesti, in his *Brevis repetitio de præsentia corp. et sang. Christi in sacrâ cœnâ* (Lips. 1782, p. 148.) which we find in Professor Lee's Visitation "Sermon, in which notice is taken of Dr. Wiseman's 7th Lecture, and the groundless assumptions and erroneous statements there made;" (Camb. 1839.) particularly as it explains a style of language in parts of the Fathers, which has perplexed some and misled others:—Huic adjungamus a Græcis tertium—Anastasium Sinaitam—qui in Cœna, S. negat esse ἄρτον ψιλόν, nudum panem, aut ἀντίτυπον, figuram corp. Christi, sed ipsum

in fetching heresies from Hell, and destroying the foundations of Christianity upon very light or no occasion given you for it. But we are not so ready to believe you or to suffer your raw inferences to run abroad without a check. St. *John* who saw our Saviour upon the cross, the same person whom he knew so well, how could he imagine that it was a Phantasm, and not a real body? To Hell you must go for men who would so abuse their senses. And thence certainly came your paradox of imposing upon our senses, and playing the *Marcion* under other terms, pretending that it is but a Phantasm of bread, not a real substance which our senses assure us to be true bread in the Eucharist. And by thus overthrowing the main pillar of Christian belief grounded upon the glory of Miracles proposed to us by the testimony of our senses; and being taught to misbelieve them, a gate is opened for new Marcionists to say that the resurrection of Lazarus and other wonders which our Saviour and his Apostles wrought in confirmation of their doctrines, were but Phantasms, *præstigiæ sensuum*, some Art of *Legerdemain* deluding our senses.

Finally, by this illustration of your Syllogism, you render it a formal Paralogism, according to Aristotle's notion of this kind of spurious Syllogism; which is (says he, 1. *Top.* c. 1.) when you assume for evident what is false and impossible. And thus you assume it as clear and evident, that Christ was corporally present in the bread which he gave at the last supper; as it was clear and evident to the beholders of both, that he was corporally upon the cross. I have proved by arguments, which you have not yet, nor ever will solve, this your assumption to be both false and impossible. And until you do so, let it be concluded that the Syllogism, which you magnify so much, is a mere Paralogism.

verum corpus I. C. In quo argutatur primum Albertinus *de Sacram. Euchar.* p. 904, reprehendens *Anastasium*—non intelligens *Anastasium* negare *meram* figuram esse." And in the Syriac writers "the terms, *truly*, *in truth*, and the like are used—not to designate any *real* and *elementary* change in things—but in direct opposition to the terms *type*, *image*, *form*, &c., when speaking of the shadowy observances of the Jewish Law, or the notions of Apollinarius, Eutyches, and the Docetæ in general; who held that Christ crucified was a mere Phantom." Dr. Lee's *Visitation Sermon*, pp. 167, 177. Still this Church had no intention of upholding the now Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation: see pp. 145. 148. 156, &c.]

But for such persons as may not so readily dive into this logical scrutiny of your sophistic Syllogism or Paralogism, and with a view to undeceive yourself so wedded to your ill digested conceptions, I will endeavour to point out the fallacy and weakness of your argument in another of the very same form, grounded upon words of our Saviour also, (John xv. 1.) *I am the true vine;* upon which words you may argue thus: Christ is by his own declaration a true Vine; but a true Vine is neither God nor man; therefore Christ by his own declaration is neither God nor man. This Syllogism has the very same form which yours has, and is grounded upon as Canonical Scripture as yours is; no defect can be imagined in it which appears not in yours. If you do not think it conclusive, expect not to have us to believe that yours is so, and boast not of your Syllogisms being unanswerable, until you answer this.

The second Syllogism which you pray to have answered is upon those words of the Jews, John vi. 52. *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* an argument which I myself proposed more clearly in fewer words, and answered very clearly at p. 63 of my discourse,* which if you had considered with any ingenuousness, you might have spared us the labour of seeing your work about it. But the force lies in the form that you give it, which is this—*A damnable unbeliever is he who denies a truth sufficiently proposed to him to be revealed by God; the Jews on this occasion were damnable unbelievers, and what they denied was a fleshly eating of his real body, as the Papists believe it.* Thus you, p. 189 of your book.

In this Syllogism I could reckon up as many vices as I did in your former; but I am tired, and am afraid of tiring my reader with so often mincing your raw arguments; to condemn it in the judgment of any good Logician it is sufficient to propose it. Surely it has nothing of a formal Syllogism, but that it seems to consist of three propositions. And at this rate you may make a horse of a stool, because both have four feet. But even herein I do your Syllogism favour, in allowing, it should *seem*, to consist of three propositions; for in truth it has four, and in them four terms—one of its notorious vices. That which takes place of a

* Page 45 of the present Edition.

minor has two propositions in it; *the Jews on this occasion were damnable unbelievers, and what they denied was a fleshy eating of his real body, as Papists do believe it.* Where we see two distinct propositions; the second abruptly intruded without any connexion or affinity with the *medium* placed in the major. And thence you pass to your third, or rather fourth proposition, bearing by *ergo*, or *therefore*, a mark of conclusion, but no more. For a conclusion indeed ought to be a verity contained in the premises; in neither of your premises is your conclusion contained, nor in both. What just seems to have some affinity with the conclusion, is, that second part of your minor, that *what the Jews denied was a fleshy eating of his real body, as the Papists do believe:* But though this be so, it is far from leading to the conclusion, *that Christ did sufficiently propose unto them a fleshy eating of his real body, as Papists do believe it.* For though they denied a *fleshy* eating, it was not that alone which they denied: They denied also a spiritual eating: they denied a fleshy eating, but inappositely to the proposal of Christ. They denied what was not demanded of them, by a mistake of his meaning, which our Saviour corrected immediately, by declaring, John vi. 63, *The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.*

You allege that I acknowledged the Jews to have understood Christ of a corporal and a fleshy eating, as Papists do. But you conceal fraudulently, how I said and proved that they misunderstood him, and that Christ taxed them with a misunderstanding, as now mentioned. Where is there now in all this, any even probable, ground for your conclusion, which you pretend to have found out clearly in the aforesaid place of *St. John;* that Christ on that occasion sufficiently proposed to them a fleshy eating of his real body, as Papists do believe it; that only in denying such eating, they were damnable unbelievers? You affirm decretorially, without giving any reason for it, that the words of our Saviour, *the flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth*, &c. was not a reproof to the Jews for understanding him of a fleshy eating; but to us for judging of this mystery by the senses of the flesh, and by natural reason. Sir, we are ready, by the help of Divine grace, to captivate our senses and reason to the obedience of faith in God, wheresoever we find him declare

his will to us, without any further examination. But such a captivity of our understanding we do upon good grounds deny to your decrees, as undue to them. In what the Church of *England* believes, regarding the Holy Eucharist, there is a large compass for Divine faith to be exercised. It is no work of nature by sense or reason to understand or believe so strange an union, though spiritual (as the Gospel tells us, and we believe) between Christ and the faithful receiver of this sacrament—such streams of Divine grace, such feeding of souls to life everlasting. To this we willingly yield the submission of our understanding, because we find it clearly declared in the word of God, though ever so much surpassing the reach of our natural understanding. From niceties respecting the mode we religiously abstain, inasmuch as God has not been pleased to declare it: according to that grave and religious expression of King *James, Quod legit Ecclesia Anglicana, pie credit; quod non legit pari pietate non inquirit.* —*What the Church of* England *reads, that it piously believes; what it does not read, with equal piety it omits to pry into.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Several answers to my arguments against Transubstantiation refuted.*

To all my reasons respecting the absurdity of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the repugnance of it to all human reason, Mr. *I. S.* gives an easy answer, that in matters of faith we must renounce reason. He should first prove that this is a point of faith, a doctrine contained in the word of God. His attempt to do so we have seen and demonstrated to be vain, in the preceding Chapter; it being then an article of their making, he must not expect from us more subjection of our intellects than his arguments will gain; and as he confesses that reason does not assist him, I take it for an acknowledgment that he is cast in the suit.

I urged that there was no necessity for forcing men to believe so hard a doctrine, either for the effect of the sacrament, or for the verification of our Saviour's words in the Institution of it. Mr. *I. S.* confesses the first but denies the second, upon a very trivial and no less weak argument, which, as I will shew, rather proves against him than for him. He says, that allowing the word *body* to be equivocal, and indifferent, to be taken either for a real or figurative body; yet put in a proposition it is determined to signify that of which only the predicate can be verified: but only of Christ's real body can it be verified that it was given for us; therefore this proposition, *This is my body which is given for you*, is to be understood of Christ's real body. Here we have one proposition made that of two, and the *Predicate* of the former made the *subject* of the latter, to frame a designed fallacy. The former proposition, which is the proper subject of our debate, is this, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this is my body. The *subject* of this proposition is the bread which Christ had in his hands, and gave his disciples to eat. The *Predicate* is our Saviour's body; and he question is how to understand the words of the PREDICATE, so as they may be agreeable to the *subject*. The words of the *Predicate* may be taken indifferently for a real or figurative body,

and be determined according to the quality of the *Subject;* that so the *identity* of both, requisite for a true proposition, may be seen according to the rule above mentioned by Mr. *I. S.*: all which proves that the word *body* is to be taken rather in a figurative sense than in a real; otherwise it could not be agreeable to the subject, which was bread real and visible, and called such after as well as before Consecration, both by Christ and St. *Paul.*

Now take notice, reader, of the egregious folly of our Adversary. The aforesaid complex proposition which he assumes in order to work upon—*This is my body which is given for you*—is composed of two propositions, the one is that now declared, relating to what Christ had in his hand—*this is my body*—the other relating to Christ's body, of which, as subject of the second proposition, another *Predicate* is affirmed, that it was given for us upon the Cross—*which was given for you.* Mr. *I. S.*, in order to attain his own object, confounds these two propositions, and makes the *Predicate* of the former proposition a *Subject* to the latter: and instead of fitting the said *Predicate* of the former proposition to the *Subject* of it (as he should do, to speak to the purpose) he talks of fitting it to the *Predicate* of the second proposition, about which there is no question; for no one doubts whether it was the real body of Christ that was given for us upon the Cross. I allow you the benefit of the same rule alleged for the second proposition —*Christ's body was given for us*—that the indifferency of the word body which is the *Subject*, may be determined by the quality of the *Predicate* and so taken for a real body, because it was a real body which was given for us upon the Cross. Why will not you allow us the benefit of the same rule for the former proposition—*This is my body*—which is the proper subject of this debate, that the indifferency of the word body in the *Predicate* be determined by the quality of the *Subject*, which was the bread that Christ had in his hand, and of which, with more propriety and less violence it may be affirmed, that it is a figurative body of Christ, than his living body?

But if the Rules of your Logic must be so extravagant as to demand, that when a discrepancy appears between the *Predicate* and *Subject* of a proposition supposed to be true, it is the *Subject* which must be altered or fashioned to a conformity with the *Predicate*, not the *Predicate* to conform to the *Subject;* what

will you make of these two propositions of our Saviour? *I am the true vine*, John xv. 1,—*I am the bread of life*, John vi. 48; in which two propositions a great discrepancy appears between the *Predicate* and *Subject*. The person of Christ speaking, is the *Subject* in both propositions; wine and bread the *Predicate*. Will you have the person of Christ to be altered and converted into a vine, and into bread, to verify those propositions? I hope you will not be so blasphemous. And why? Because Christ was seen to be a man, not a vine, or bread: and so was the bread in his hands seen and felt to be true bread, no human body.

I objected, that the Council of Trent, *Sess.* 13, Can. 2, in accursing such as affirm bread and wine to remain in the Eucharist after Consecration, opposes St. *Paul*, calling the consecrated element bread. You say that he called it bread, not because it was such then, but because it was bread before; as in Scripture we read, *The blind do see, the lame walk;* not that they were blind and lame when they had recovered their sight and were able to see and walk, but because they had been such before. I answer, that in these latter cases an *amplification* of the term was necessary, because the senses assured those men that they were not then blind nor lame; but not so in St. Paul's case; the senses both saw and felt that what he called bread was such indeed.

I produced several clear and express testimonies from the most ancient and renowned Fathers of the Church, delivering our doctrine, that the elements in the Eucharist do not change their nature, but are *Types* and *Symbols* of the body of Christ abiding still in their proper substance. To all which Mr. *I. S.* answers, that *the Eucharist is indeed a Type and Representation of Christ's body; but Christ himself is there both representing and represented: as a King that would act a part in a tragedy of his own victories, he would be the thing represented and the representation.* Truly I wonder how this old *simile* has kept credit for such a length of time among Romish Catechists, but more so that it should be introduced into a serious dispute. I am surprised that they do not perceive the great indelicacy of the parity. If a tragedy were composed of the late siege [1673] of *Maestricht*, in which the King of France was personally engaged, would not a judicious man think it unbecoming the majesty of so

great a Prince, if he were to go himself about all the cities of the country acting a part in the tragedy, and representing his own chivalry? Why then will they not consider it unbecoming that the King of Glory, Christ, should act personally and corporally in all corners of the world, where the Eucharist is celebrated; being able to do all intended by it in a more intelligible way, and with more decency.

But all this while our adversary is evading the main point intended in the testimony of the Fathers, that the elements of bread and wine remain in their own nature unchanged after Consecration; whereby they seem to lie under the curse of the Council of Trent just mentioned. To which testimonies I will add another out of *Dionysius Syrus*,* writing upon John I. 14. *And the word was made flesh.* His words, translated by a most learned and honourable person† out of the Syriac Language into English, are these:—

'*Object. The Heretics demand, how was the word made flesh, being not changed?*

'*Sol. Even as he appeared to the Prophets in Similitudes without being changed; and as he was before he was made, so was he when he was made, without change. And as the* Amianton or Salamander *is united with the fire, without being changed; as the bread is made the body of Christ, and the waters of Baptism are made spiritual, without being changed*

* Celeberrimus fuit inter Syros Jacobitas Theologus (Dionys. Barsalibus)—Fuit Metropolita Amidæ—Metropolis—provinciæ illius quæ *Diarbekir* appellatur. Magnâ Dionysius inter suos Doctrinæ et pietatis formâ commendatur, vixque ullus est inter posteriores Theologos, cujus testimonia frequentius occurrunt.—Scripsit prolixum commentarium in quatuor Evangelia." *Liturg. Orientall. Collectio*, operâ Eus. Renaudot; (Paris, 1716) tom. 2. pp. 453, 454.

† Dr. Loftus. [Dr. Dudley Loftus published a Comment on St. Mark by this writer at Dublin, 1672, (see Todd's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Bishop Walton, vol. I. pp. 248—251.)—The views, which the Syrian Authors and Ritualists entertained upon this doctrine, are most accessible in Professor Lee's "Sermon, in which the groundless assumptions and erroneous statements made in Dr. Wiseman's 7th Lecture" are fully considered and rectified; (Cambr. 1839.) pp. 136—180. They support the quotations in the text. Dr. Wiseman has produced one passage, and "as something so strong in favour of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* as to be perfectly invincible!" (from Bp. Maruthas)—an extract, however, the parentage of which is doubtful, the argument foolish, and the declarations contradictory of the very notion which it is adduced to support—it has, in short, turned out a perfect failure; see Dr. Lee's Sermon, pp. 180, 182.)

*from their nature: so the word was made flesh, without being changed from what it was as God; that is to say, he took flesh without being changed.*'

From the same quarter I was informed that the *Ethiopic Liturgy* printed at Rome, An. Dom. 1548, uses these words in the celebration of the Sacrament, *This bread is my body;* which determination of the Particle *hoc*, to bread, disfavouring the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the translator of the Liturgy turned falsifier in translating that passage, by the words *Hoc est Corpus meum.*

To all these and similar testimonies Mr. *I. S.* replies, that they are not so clearly for us, but that Bellarmine and others of his side find ways to give them another sense, and therefore that we need an infallible living Judge to determine the sense of the Fathers as well as of Scripture; and that inasmuch as that Judge is the Bishop of Rome, he may be sure of a favourable sentence, if the cause be referred to him.

But what if we find a Pope clearly delivering our opinion twelve hundred years ago, and saying—The sacramental elements after Consecration, *do not cease to be the substance and nature of bread and wine;* as we have found Pope *Gelasius* doing, whose words I have quoted, p. 56. of my former discourse?* Will he find a way to decline such a sentence? Were the Popes Infallible in that age? Certain I am they did not pretend to be so. But Mr. *I. S.* answers, that Bellarmine says, that that *Gelasius* was no Pope, but a Monk. *Bellarmine* endeavours truly to cast a thick cloud upon history to prove so much, or at least to render the matter obscure, and so does *Baronius.* But this latter fearing not to succeed in that design, or (as he says) to war with more gallantry and contempt of his adversaries, will afford them the use of the arms which they lay claim to, and allow that *Gelasius* the Pope should be the author of those words: And what then? Why *Gelasius by the words* substance of bread and wine, *meant the accidents or species of bread and wine, which do remain, and are to us the means of knowing the substance; and may not be called properly accidents in this case, because there is no substance left for them to rest upon,*

* See page 42 of the present reprint.

*as the nature and common notion of an accident requires.* And having delivered this most strange and never-heard-of complication of contradictory expressions,* to make of accidents a substance, and withal no substance of bread to remain; he sounds loudly a triumph over his Adversaries, that he has whipt them like boys with their own weapons; and that though it be freely admitted, that the aforesaid testimony is that of Pope *Gelasius*, yet that it serves nothing to their purpose.

I could enlarge more upon the absurdities of *Baronius's* discussion of that subject, and the injury which he does to *Gelasius* in fathering upon him so ridiculous a paradox; but I think it sufficient for the present to let the reader see how solid and serious, I should say, how childish and ridiculous, even great men appear, when engaged in a bad cause. I am apt to think that some persons will hardly believe that so great a man as Cardinal *Baronius* could deliver such egregious nonsense as we have now related. Read him however in the fifth tome† of his *Annals, An. Dom.* 496, *Gelasii Papæ, an.* 5, from the first number to the twentieth.

And conclude, reader, from this passage, what little hopes we can have of peace, or of an end of controversy among Christians, by allowing the Pope to be infallible, when the most clear and plain words of a Pope are subject to an interpretation of them so cross, and diametrically opposite to the meaning of them according to common use. As to understand Scripture, a Pope's Declaration is pretended to be necessary; so to understand each Pope's Declaration, another Infallible Judge is to be looked after, without end.

* Later defenders and expounders of the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* on this head are not a whit less confused. In Dr. Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed*, (Chapp. 5 and 6,) there is exhibited the strangest jumble and confusion that well can be imagined in a man who belonged to an Infallible Church; at one time a corporal, and at another a spiritual change in the elements of the Lord's Supper being argued for, just as it seemed to suit the present object. Dr. Brown also in the Downside Discussion first took up one view and then the other, in exactly the same way, and as best coincided with the "Protean views of Rome!"

† In the VIIIth. tome, *edit. Luccæ*, 1741. The arguments of Bellarmine and Baronius for setting aside this passage of *Gelasius* are in use to almost the present day; See *Report of a Discussion between* Reverends R. F. P. Pope and Thos. M'Guire, Dublin, 1827, p. 286.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Ancient Schoolmen declare that Transubstantiation cannot be proved out of Scripture, and that it was not an Article of Faith before the Lateran Council. Mr.* I. S.'s *great boast of finding in my Check to their worship of the Host, a prejudice to the Hierarchy of the Church of* England, *declared to be void of sense and ground.*

Mr. *I. S.* with his usual confidence says [p. 207] that that is most false which I imputed to *Scotus*, *Ocham*, *Cajetan*, and other Schoolmen, viz., that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not contained in the Canon of Scripture, nor was an Article of Faith before the *Lateran* Council. He allows that *Cajetan* was of that opinion, and was censured for it; he erred therein, says he: and what then? but he denies resolutely that *Scotus* held such an opinion. Then *Bellarmine* did him an injury in relating the contrary of him in these words:—*One thing*, says he, *Scotus adds, which is not to be approved, that before the* Lateran Council, *Transubstantiation was no Article of Faith.** And a little before, he tells us, that *Scotus* says there is no passage in Scripture which proves clearly that Transubstantiation should be admitted, if the authority of the Church had not intervened; where Bellarmine adds, that Scotus's saying is not improbable; for though, as he states, Scripture may to us seem clear to the purpose, yet even that may be doubted; inasmuch as very learned and acute men, such as Scotus was eminently, have held the contrary. These are the express words of *Bellarmine*, *lib.* 3. *de Euchar. c.* 23. Here you have Bellarmine declaring plainly against Mr. *I. S.* that *Scotus* stated that Transubstantiation was not an Article of Faith before the *Lateran* Council; and that both *Scotus* and other most learned and acute men were of

* Unum tamen addit Scotus, quod minime probandum est; ante Lateranense Concilium non fuisse dogma Fidei Transubstantiationem.

opinion that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not clearly contained in Scripture.

And truly, though I had not seen *Scotus's* writing upon the point, I am inclined to believe that Mr. *I. S.* should be mistaken rather than *Bellarmine*, but I have now read over *Scotus's* discourse upon this subject, not only in the printed editions, but in the ancient MS. kept in *Merton* College, Oxon. whereof he was a Fellow, and with no small admiration and compassion, to see so noble and excellent a wit forced to opine or seem to opine against his proper sentiment, as he protests himself to do, to comply with Pope *Innocent* and the *Lateran* Council. Having stated the question of Transubstantiation, having related the opinion of *Aquinas* and others for it, and confuted most vigorously their arguments out of Scripture and reason for it, as not convincing; he at last yields to the opinion of *Innocent* in these words—*Teneo igitur istam opinionem ibi positam ab Innocentio, quod substantia panis non maneat, sed quod transubstantiatur in Corpus Christi, non propter rationes prædictas, quia non cogunt.** For which opinion in order to say something, being forced to follow it, he alleges two conveniences; the *first*, that if the substance of bread remained under the accidents of it, a man taking the body and blood of our Saviour under such accidents would not be fasting; and so may not celebrate twice in one day; which is against that Canon *de consecrat. distinct. prima in nocte.*† The *second* conveniency is, that the Church prays, as appears in the Canon of the Mass, that the bread and wine may be made the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, bu prays not for a thing impossible; therefore it is to be said, that the substance of bread ceases to be there, and is converted into the body of Christ.

Whoever is acquainted with the subtility and exactness of *Scotus's* reasoning, may easily perceive that he was speaking against his own sentiments, when he alleged such weak arguments as those two now mentioned; and thus, not to forfeit his reputation for subtility, he turns to protest with his accustomed

* I hold then the opinion there laid down by *Innocent*, that the substance of bread does not remain, but that it is transubstantiated into the body of Christ; though not for the aforesaid reasons, because they are not conclusive.

† Decreti III. pars de Consecrat. §. 48. or §. 53.

ingenuousness, that he followed this opinion only because of the authority of the Church, concluding thus—*et hoc principaliter teneo propter authoritatem Ecclessiæ*, &c.; and the same his Scholiasts, upon the aforesaid words, declare of him, saying—*Tenet Doctor tertiam sententiam, nempè panem converti in Corpus Christi, quia sit Ecclesia tenet.* Vid. *Scot. in* 4. *dist.* 10. *q.* 3. edit. Lugdun. an. 1639—*Scotus* holds the bread to be converted into the body of Christ, because the Church declared it so in the *Lateran* Council, not for any authority of Scripture or reason which could move him to it. The same I may easily prove of other learned Schoolmen. And from this instance you may perceive Mr. *I. S.'s* rashness in asserting that I was most falsely imposing what nevertheless both Bellarmine and himself declare to be his proper opinion.

Of the same opinion with *Scotus* was *Durandus*, in 4. Sent. *dist.* 11. *q.* 1. *sect. propter.* 3, where he declares, that the opinion affirming the substance of bread to remain after Consecration was more convenient to obviate difficulties, which rendered the Mystery less easy of public reception; but that the contrary is to be held for the declaration of the Church. *Cajetan* said, that this declaration alone could make the words of our Saviour, alleged in support of Transubstantiation, appear convincing to that purpose.* And *Suarez* informs us that this passage was commanded by Pope Pius V. to be expunged.

I found an old copy of *Ocham* in Dublin Library which had been more fortunate in escaping their blurs. In his 5th *quodlibet*

* Cardinal Cajetan is purged in several and main points of doctrine, being different from your own Church: touching the grounds of Transubstantiation he denies that the words of Scripture—*This is my body*—are available to prove it of themselves, and thereupon your Jesuit Suarez complaineth, *ex Catholicis (tom.* 3. *disp.* 46. *sect.* 3. *quæst.* 75. *art.* 1. p. 515, Mogunt. 1609) among the *Catholics* Cajetan only teacheth that the words—*this is my body*—be not sufficient without the authority of the Church, to confirm the truth of it; and therefore by the command of Pius V. this passage is blotted out in the Roman edition. Lynde's *Case for the Spectacles;* (Lond. 1638) p. 124.

The endless confusion in which the Church of Rome is involved by her pretence to Unity, may be yet farther shewn from the writings of the same Cardinal:—Nullus ita insanit, ut dicat spiritum esse corpus, sed dicimus corpus Christi habere modum essendi spirituale in hoc sacramento: quia est quidem in sacramento verum corpus, sed non per modum corporis in sacramento existit; per modum quidem corporis existit in cœlo, in sacramento autem non existit per modum corporis, &c., &c. *Opusc.* tom. 2. tract. 2. cap. 5.

q. 30, he relates three opinions respecting the bread in the Eucharist. The first saying, that the bread which was before, is the body of Christ after Consecration; of which opinion he delivers this judgment—*Prima est irrationalis*—that *it is an unreasonable opinion.* The second opinion (says he) is, that the substance of bread and wine ceases to be, and that only the accidents remain, and under them begins to be the body of Christ: of this opinion he says, *Est communis opinio, quam teneo propter determinationem Ecclesiæ, et non propter aliam rationem—that to this opinion he assents because of the declaration of the Church in favour of it, and not on account of any reason assisting it.* The third opinion related by him is, that the substance of bread and wine remains after Consecration; and of this he says, *Tertia opinio esset multum rationabilis, nisi esset determinatio Ecclesiæ in contrarium—that this opinion would be very rational, if the determination of the Church were not contrary to it.*

So that it is not any reason, nor any ground which they adduce for it from Scripture, which made these and many other very learned men assent to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but merely a blind obedience to the decree of *Innocent* in the *Lateran* Council. Bellarmine wishes we should all pay this submission due to the authority of the Church; and I wish, with all my heart, that both we and he, and his party and all Christians, would pay due submission to the Church truly Catholic, Primitive and Apostolic, declaring to us the word of God by Canonical Scripture and Universal Tradition; in which fountains of truth neither Transubstantiation will be found, nor any of their errors which I pointed out as motives to my forsaking their communion.

Neither is *I. S.* more fortunate in his attempt of putting a terror upon me, as if I had shocked the Hierarchy of the Church of *England,* by saying that it is rashness to give Divine Adoration to a Wafer, wherein they cannot be sure that Christ is present; this depending, according to their own principles, upon the Priest's intention to consecrate,* his due Ordination, and of

* This is acknowledged (or at least was) in some of the early rituals. In a *Manuale ad usum Eccles. Sarum* (4to. Antwerp. 1542) the Priest is instructed how to conduct himself relative to the elevation of the Host. Before the consecration he is to elevate it but a little, so as not to be seen by the people; for if it be then

the Bishop who gave him Orders, *his* intention and due Ordination; and so upward of endless requisites impossible to be certainly known.

And what has all this to do with shocking the Hierarchy of the Church of *England*? When I saw the man beginning so greatly to exult, and sounding already a triumph, I expected that the story of the Nag's Head, or some other of their old Engines against the Legality of the Protestant Clergy, would be ushered in: but all that he brings up is, that we also allow some things to be essentially requisite for the validity of a Sacrament, the defect of which nullifies the Sacrament. As in Baptism, water is requisite, and the form of words—"I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" now the minister may vitiate this form, and utter somewhat in lieu of it, or omit some words of it, or add some other that would destroy the form: again, the same may happen in the ordination of a Minister or Bishop, and that we cannot be certain that no error of this kind attaches to any one of the whole train of our ordainers, and if it was wanting in any, then all the ordinations derived from him are null. We can, therefore, have no assurance of our Hierarchy.

I leave it to the judicious reader to consider what singular exploits this man has performed herein against the Church of *England*. His alleged reasons for doubting the validity of its Ministers' ordination proves just as much for rendering doubtful the Legality of the Roman Clergy, by his own confession; but much more for the reasons which I shall add: *first*, that we do not make the effects of Sacraments to depend so much upon the intention and quality of the Ministers, as the Church of Rome does—we entertain a better opinion of God's goodness than that he would suffer pious souls to lose the fruit of their sincere endeavours, and that He will supply to that purpose any defect in the Minister: *secondly*, that their practice of muttering the words in a Language unknown to the people, and in a voice not audible, (especially in the consecration of the Eucharist) is more subject to errors and fraud than the way of our Church, where

elevated and shewn to the people (as is done by some foolish Priests) they cause the people to commit idolatry by adoring simple bread as the body of Christ: *adorando panem purum tanquam corpus Christi. Protest. Guard.* Oct. 1828, p. 198.

the Minister is instructed to pronounce loudly and intelligibly the words of the form.

But chiefly with respect to the subject of our present discourse (from which our adversary seems willing to divert)—I mean the use and adoration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist—who run more hazards, the Papists or we? In case a defect should happen relating to the consecration, nevertheless we enjoy the fruit of a spiritual communion, and are not at the loss in which Papists are involved in similar cases, who make the main fruit to depend upon the real and corporal presence in the Host. We run no danger of idolatry, material or formal,—in giving the worship of Divinity to a thing that is not God; as Papists do, when rendering that kind of worship to any Host reputed to be duly consecrated, which if it happens *not* to be so indeed, their act of worship is at least a material Idolatry by their own confession: and to expose themselves to a known danger of committing such kind of Idolatry cannot but be criminal; as it is generally reputed to be a sin for a person to expose himself to the danger of committing a sin. The comparison of one honouring his Father, not knowing him of a certainty to be his true father, is inapplicable and indecent. He must have a bad opinion of his mother, who doubts his reputed father to be such in truth. But what if he were in a material error, it is not a sin, but a duty, to pay respect unto him who adopts, or owns him for a son.

I will conclude this subject with letting *I. S.* see his own rashness, in pretending that I was rash for saying it is intolerable boldness in some of his fellows to assert, that there is the same reason for the adoration of the Host, as for adoring Christ's Divinity. And he pretends that thereby, I should seem not to understand their doctrine. Sir, I am not going to enter with you into a comparison which of us the better understands the doctrine of both Churches: what I see evidently is, that either you ignorantly misunderstand, or maliciously misrepresent, the state of the question; that, wanting an answer to my arguments in their proper terms, you fashion them so, as that your vague discourses may seem to strike at something; which is properly *hostem tibi fingere quem ferias*, to create yourself an adversary, such as you may triumph over; that is, not to adapt your answer to my arguments, but my arguments to what you would have us take for an answer;

as being all you have to say. This is a very usual mode of proceeding with you, as on many occasions I have shown from the commencement of this discussion, and will further exhibit in others to the end of it; but in the present case you appear notoriously guilty of this foul play.

I am neither ignorant, nor do I doubt, that if your doctrine of Christ's personal presence in the consecrated Host were true, there is as much reason to adore such an Host, as to adore Christ himself; both being the same thing on such a supposition. This is the mystery which you pretend I do not understand, but this is not the state of the question with me. What I did, and do again, call intolerable boldness is to say, *that* (the matter standing, as now it does, doubtful and controverted (*there is as much reason for adoring the consecrated Host, as there is for adoring Christ's person;* since for adoring Christ we have several express commands laid upon us in Scripture, which I adduced out of Heb. i. 6.; Phillip. ii. 10.; John v. 23; but no intimation given of adoring Christ in the sacramental bread, supposing him to be corporally present there.

But if you proceed to consider the object of the worship of both—Christ living in the world, and your consecrated Host—to say that there is as much ground for believing your doctrine of Divinity existent in the latter as in the former, I said and say still that it is intolerable boldness, and a great injury to the Christian Religion, to make those two things of equal certainty; whereof I was content to make *Bellarmine** my judge, who being engaged in proving the Divinity of Christ, goes through six classes of arguments out of Scripture with uncontrolable strength; but aiming to prove Transubstantiation out of the same Scripture, his only argument is drawn from those words of Matt. xxvii. 26. *Take, eat, this is my body;*—a passage, the incapability of which, in the opinion of the gravest Schoolmen, and of *Bellarmine* himself, to prove clearly the doctrine of Transubstantiation, we have made manifest from the beginning of this Chapter. Is it not therefore intolerable boldness to affirm that there is *as much* reason for asserting that Christ is in the Host really and corporally, as there is for saying that Christ is God?

* Bellarm. *de Christo. lib.* 1, c. 4.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Mr.* I. S.'s *weak defence of their half-communion* confuted.*

Mr. *I. S.* will have the precept of Communion run parallel with that of Baptism, an arrangement with which I am well content; both are commanded by Christ: Baptism thus, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*, John iii. 5; and the Communion thus—*Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*, John vi. 53. The essential requisites of Baptism are water and a set form of words. In this no alteration can consist with the validity of the Sacrament; not so of the mode or circumstances, whether it be by immersion or sprinkling. Herein alterations may be, and were admitted by the Church. Even so in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the essence of it consists in eating the flesh and drinking the blood of our Saviour.

This must not be altered; but the mode or circumstances—whether it be kneeling or standing, whether in leavened or unleavened bread, whether with white or red wine—with respect to these accidents there may be alterations without prejudice to the substance of the Sacrament, but not as respects the essential parts of flesh and blood: in this much we agree on both sides.

Now what we are to understand by flesh, what by blood, our Saviour did not leave obscure, so that we might err in so weighty a matter, wherein the life of our souls consists; but he made it clear and visible to us. He took bread in his hands, and of it, he said, *This is my body;* he took likewise wine in his hands, saying, *this is my blood.* The way therefore to take his body and blood is to take consecrated bread and wine in remembrance of him, This is the way in which Christ established the taking of this blessed sacrament; this the Apostles and Primitive Christians generally practised, and in this way all true Christians ought to walk.

* [*Unerring and Unerrable Church*, p. 214.]

Mr. *I. S.* censures it as pusillanimity in me to be surprised at that famous *non obstante* clause in the Council of *Constance*,* viz. that, *notwithstanding* Christ instituted this Sacrament in both kinds, and in the Primitive Church they administered it so, yet the Council thought it convenient to ordain the contrary. I must have a strong stomach to swallow without chewing or examining what *our Lord God the Pope* orders, as the Glossist calls him.†

* In the Collection of Councils by Labbé, tom xii. col. 100, edit. 1671.

† Their Canon Law brags that Constantine the Great called the Pope a God; (*Distinct.* 96, cap. 7) but their Extravagant Gloss speaks out more plainly in these very words—*our Lord God the Pope.* Because Father Parsons affirmeth he could never find any such expression, though he saith he sought much for it; I have been the more exact and plain in the quotation, as also to confute *Aud. Eudæmon-Johannes* and some others, who are apt to persuade their readers, that there is no such thing to be found,at least in those copies they meet with: for Confutation of which take this Catalogue of Editions which I have met withal, in which they will find the said words expressly set down; Lugduni, 1526, 1556, 1559, 1572, 1584; Lutet. Paris. 1522, 1561, 1585, 1601, 1612. Foulis's *History of Romish Treasons and Usurpations*, p. 34; or pp. 29, 30, edit 1681.

"Papa *Deum* se appellari et gaudet et gloriatur; *distinct.* 96, c. *satis*; ubi scriptum ita est: *Satis ostenditur a seculari potestate nec ligari prorsus, nec solvi posse Pontificem quem constat a piò Principe Constantino Deum appellatum, cum nec Deum posse ab hominibus judicari manifestum sit.* Quem locum Aug. Steuchus patronus Papæ vehementissimus, ejusdem que bibliothecarius in lib. de Donat. Constant. p. 141, laudans et commemorans, ita subjungit: *Audis summum Pontificem a Constantino Deum appellatum, et habitum pro Deo? Hoc vide licet factum est, cum eum præclaro illo edicto decoravit, adoravit uti Deum, uti Christi et Petri successorem: divinos honores ei, quoad potuit, contulit, velut vivam Christi imaginem veneratus est.* Hæc Steuchus in supra-dicto libro, edito Lugduni an. 1547." *Brutum Fulmen Sixti* V. *advers. Henricum regem Navarre, una cum Protest. multiplicis nullitatis*; p. 11.

The preceding, it will be observed, regards the *person* of the Pope; and his edicts have had the same stamp of Divinity ascribed to them: "The word of the Pope, teaching out of his Chair, is *non omnino* not (altogether or not at all) the word of man, that is liable to error, but in some sort the word of God." Bellarmin *de verbo Dei*, l. 3, c, 10, arg. 15, in *Taylor's Dissuasive pt.* 2, p. 288, edit. 1836. There are some excellent remarks upon this subject in the Appendix, pp. 17—20 to *The Church of Rome the Apostasy*—by Wm. Cuninghame, Esq.—Glasgow 1833.

The following narrative will shew the doctrine carried into practice:

A Jesuit Nuncio sent by Paul V. to the Doge of Venice to accommodate some differences between them, in his speech to the Doge, composed in the most persuasive and affectionate terms imaginable, often invoked the name of Almighty God; of whom when he had occasion to speak he called him *our Lord*; and in like manner when he had occasion to mention the Pope he called him *our Lord*; so that it was difficult to distinguish which of the two Lords he meant in his discourse, only some observing persons took notice that when he intended the

He is *Vice-God* upon earth, as all of them stile him, and possessed of such privileges that the commands of God must bind no further than he pleases. If he should instruct us that virtue is vice, and vice virtue we are to believe him. Yet Mr. I. *S.* will argue the case with us. He might have spared that labour, for I had declared that it was sufficient for my purpose to know that they will pretend reason for inverting Christ's institutions. But how well beseeming the gravity of a Council, are the reasons which he alleges, grounded upon principles of niggardliness and nicety! To spare the expence of wine, and prevent the inconvenience of clean people drinking out of the same cup with the unclean! Is there not as much wine now in the world, as was in the Primitive Church, and the Communion less frequent? Were not clean people then in the world? Shall a groundless fear of annoying the body overweigh a certain danger of losing the soul, when Christ has declared that *if we do not eat his flesh and drink his blood, we have no life in us?* Is it fair that such frivolous reasons as these should suffice for a Pope to alter the Institutions of Christ; and no reason, be it ever so evident, should excuse opposing a Pope's decree?

But Mr. *I. S.* tells us, that in these words of our Saviour, John VI. "If ye do not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you—the particle *and* must be taken disjunctively* for *or*, not copulatively; so that the command must be understood of eating his flesh, or drinking his blood: because in the Hebrew language, wherein our Saviour spake, the particle *and* is capable of such a sense—*Bellarmine*

name of God he kept his head covered, but when he meant the Pope he always took his cap off. Ricaut's *Translation of Platina's Lives with additions, Part* ii. p. 241, Lond. 1685.

* A kindred passage in 1 Cor. xi. 27 has very commonly to bear the charge of being corrupted in the English version by the use of the same Conjunction—*Whosoever shall eat this bread* and *drink this cup.*" But, as Mr. Cumming states, "Our translators were by no means unacquainted with what had been written and produced upon the subject. They had a sight of the Alexandrian and Cambridge MSS. and two later MSS., all four having καὶ; and let me add also that the Syriac and Ethiopic and Coptic versions have all *and*, and not *or*." Discussion at Hammersmith, p. 114. Beside, "more than 30 of the earliest printed Editions of the Vulgate Translation between 1462 and 1569 have '*et liberet*'—the Missals likewise both printed and MS. read '*et liberet.*'" See an excellent note on the passage in Blair's *Revival of Popery*, Lond. 1819, pp. 250—52. See also Lothian's *Expository Lectures on the Epistles to the Corinthians*, in loc.

and *Suarez* said so. I see they did; and thereby I see that a cause will make its patrons run to narrow shifts. At this rate you may pretend to comply with the precept of loving God and your neighbour, by loving either, though you do not love both. And so of the precept of honouring your father and mother, that you observe it by honouring one, though you deny that duty to the other, because the particle *and* in those precepts, is capable of a disjunctive sense, and may be construed *or*.

Moreover, this argument would prove more than the Council, or *Bellarmine*, or *Suarez* himself would have—that there is no command of drinking the blood of our Saviour. So the Council and Romish writers commonly pretend, that Christ's living body being corporally present in the consecrated bread, and a living body containing flesh and blood, by taking the bread we take both flesh and blood.* But the supposition of this argument; that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament, being pretended, and even proved clearly in our opinion, to be false, it is useless to attempt to persuade us with an argument grounded upon that principle. Besides, even if that supposition were true, it is not easy to understand how, by swallowing an animal consisting of flesh and blood, without separating both, one may be said properly to drink blood. All these absurdities may be avoided by following literally the words and practice of our Saviour, and administering the sacrament as he did in both kinds.

And here I must again express my astonishment at the courage and confidence of Mr. *I. S.* in telling us that we have a positive example of Christ himself, who once gave the communion in the accidents of bread alone to his disciples, in the way towards Emmaus, p. 217. How come you to be so positive in affirming that *that* act of Christ with his disciples at Emmaus, was a communion rather than a common supper. *Suarez* (in 3. p. dis. 71. sec. 1.) says, the opinion of many learned authors *denying* it to have been a communion, seems to him more probable. And *Maldonate* supposes many good writers to have been of the same opinion. But besides, if it were a communion, what is your ground for saying that he did not give the cup in it? Because bread only is mentioned; and that the disciples asserted that he

* This is called the doctrine of concomitancy; See Bellarm. *de. Sacram Euchar.* lib. 4. cap. 21.

*was known of them in breaking bread.* But it is very frequent in Scripture to express a dinner or supper, where both meat and drink are taken, by this term of eating bread; and the disciples might have found sufficient signs of knowing Christ by his way of breaking the bread, without mentioning more of his actions.

Furthermore, *Suarez* (in 3. p. dis. 42. sec. 1.) declares it to be the opinion of all Divines, and his own, that the *species* of bread and wine constitute the essential qualities of this Sacrament, *Dico, 3o. species consecratas esse Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, seu ad ejus constitutionem intrinsece et essentialiter pertinere—that the consecrated species belong essentially to the Constitution of this Sacrament.* How then could he give the Sacrament without the *species* of bread and wine, if they be *essential constitutes of it?* But Suarez (say you) in his *disp.* 71. argues, that the whole essence of the Sacrament consists in either kind; and therein (say I) contradicts his former doctrine, as also that of *Gelasius* quoted by himself, *Quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis Christi portione a Calice sacri cruoris abstinent, qui proculdubio aut integra Sacramenta suscipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sinè grandi sacrilegio provenire non potest—Some, taking only the body of Christ, abstain from the cup of his sacred blood, who truly should either take all the Sacrament, or leave all; since the Mystery being but one it may not be divided without great sacrileye.* They pretend that this should be understood of Priests only, and that they *should* take the communion under both kinds; but without shewing any sufficient ground for it. We have no notice of Priests taking it under one kind, to whom Gelasius' declaration* should be directed; and our Saviour provided in this Sacrament a spiritual food, not only for Priests, but for all the faithful; and his words, which are the ground of our assertion, extended to all.

Mr. *I. S.* pretends that my argument against Transubstantiation—*That neither for the effects of the Sacrament, neither for verifying the words of the Institution, such a conversion of substances is necessary*—comes pertinently to his purpose here; that the communion under both kinds is needful, either for the

* Gelasius Papa. in Decreti. par. III. *de Consecrat. dist.* 2. §. 12.

effects of the Sacrament, or for verifying the words of Christ in the Institution of it. But the difference is wide; *first* as to the effects, Mr. *I. S.* himself confesses, p. 201, that Christ, had he been so pleased, might have given us the effects of the Sacrament with a figurative presence only. *Secondly*, as to the tenor of our Saviour's words in the institution of it, many of their own more learned and exact Schoolmen affirm, that the said words are not decisive for Transubstantiation, as respects their proper sense, as we have seen in the preceding Chapter. And *Bellarmine* confesses* as much, saying, that that was the sentiment of most learned and observing men. Both these things are wanting to make the same argument serve our adversary; for we have proved hitherto that neither for the effect of the Sacrament, nor for verifying the words of our Saviour in the institution of it, is the half communion sufficient. Certainly he has no such confession from us to suit his purpose, as we have from him, and from his brethren, to ours.

* Bellarm. lib. 3. de Euchar. c. 23.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*The Roman worship of Images declared to be sinful.*

Mr. *I. S.* is very tedious [from p. 224 to 234], and no less impertinent, in telling us that it is not a sin to make Images absolutely, because God made man in his own Image; and that Protestants make Images of the King and Queen, &c.; but he might have spared himself this labour, inasmuch as I had shewn that it is not only lawful, but commendable to make Images, and that there may be a good use of them to several purposes. The sin is to adore and worship them; *that* being directly opposite to God's commandment given us in the XXth. Chapter of Exodus, in these words—*Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image*, &c., *thou shalt not bow down thyself to them;* of which sin the Roman Church is guilty, by ordering honour and reverence to be given to Images; in what degree, *Azor*, with several others of their Divines tell us, affirming that the same honour is to be given to them which is due to the Prototype, and consequently the honour of *Latria* to the Images of God and Christ; the honour of *Dulia* to the Images of other saints. So *Azor* teaches, (and not I, as Mr. *I. S.* falsifies) in these words, *Constans est Theologorum sententia Imaginem eodem honore et cultu honorari et coli, quo colitur id, cujus est Imago—It is the constant opinion of Divines that the Image is to be honoured and worshipped, in the same manner as the thing whereof it is an Image.* Mr. *I. S.* asserts boldly, that *Azor* has no such words; but if he would read attentively the passage of *Azor* from which I quoted, *(Tom.* 1. *Inst. Moral. lib.* 9. *c.* 6. §. *Tota hæc controversia)*, he would find those formal words in him, and others immediately following, wherein he attributes the same opinion both to the Council of *Trent*, *(Sessione* 25, *in decret. Fidei de sacris Imaginibus)* and to the seventh Synod; [held at Nicæa, A.D. 787.]

*Vasquez (lib.* 2. *de Adoratione, disp.* 6. *cap.* 2.) gives this

further account of the mode of worshipping Images in the Roman Church, *Catholica veritas est Imaginibus deferendam esse adorationem, h.e. signa servitutis et submissionis, amplexu, luminaribus, oblatione suffituum, capitis nudatione*, &c.—*That it is a Catholic verity, that worship is to be given to Images, that is to say, expressions of service and submission, by embraces, light burnings, offering of incense, uncovering the head*, &c. Azor quotes for the same opinion, *Aquinas, Bonaventure, Alensis, Cajetan*, and several other ancient and modern Schoolmen.* Mr. *I. S.* would have us not believe all these Doctors in their Declarations respecting the Roman worship of Images. But who are you, good Mr. *I. S.*, *Quidam nescio quis, nec puto nomen habet—one I know not who, and, as I see, nameless*—that we must believe you, rather than the so many illustrious Doctors now mentioned?

Give to your worship of Images what name you please, to worship them at all is a formal transgression of the Divine precept above mentioned, and therefore a grievous sin. You would fain prove out of Scripture that God ordered Images to be adored, which is to imagine that God would contradict himself,

* Such as Marsilius, Almayn, Carthusianus, Capreolus and John Major; see Forbesii *Instruc. historico-theol. lib.* 7. *cap.* 14. §. 5; or Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive, pt.* 1. *p.* 116. edit. Oxon, 1836.—And yet such is the absence of unity in the Church of Rome, that "some of its most illustrious theologians and saints have occasionally set forth its tenets with so much obscurity and unfairness that it must be nearly impossible for their people to ascertain what their real opinion was. Thus Cardinals *Capisucchi* and *Cajetan*, as well as *S. S. Bonaventure* and *Thomas* assert, in express terms, that the cross and images of Christ are to be worshipped with the same adoration of *Latria* which is due to God himself; that all Images are entitled to the same kind of worship as the original they represent; and that this is the doctrine of the Councils of *Nice* and *Trent*. This sentiment *Capisucchi* supports by the testimony of many Doctors, Professors, and Cardinals, and in a work which is honoured with numberless approbations; though, at the same time, it is an opinion highly disapproved of by *Bossuet*, in a treatise no less esteemed, and published with the sanction of even *Capisucchi* himself. Now, without entering into any of the niceties of the Schools, whether, for example, 'The representative Image as representative, be representatively one and the same thing with the thing represented,' I only wish to ask the simple question, whether upon any account whatever, or in any sense attainable by persons of plain understanding, it be lawful to pay *divine* homage to the cross of Christ? And yet these are the men on whose oral deposition your people are to depend!" *A General Defence of the Reformation in a Letter to the Rev. J. Berington*, by Rev J. Hawkins; (Worcester, 1788), p. 64.

and so it appears in the ill success of your attempt upon finding your doctrine in Scripture. Your first discovery in Scripture is, that God commanded the Brazen Serpent to be put up—to be adored, say you. God's command concerning that matter is set down, Numb. xxiv. 8, in these words, *Make thee a fiery Serpent, and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it shall live.* Here is no mention of adoring that Serpent. You say that that looking upon it was to be with inward reverence and veneration, wherein adoration or worship properly consists. Then when we look upon a Church with reverence, as being the house of God, we adore it; the same when we look upon the Bible; when a dutiful child looks reverently upon his Father—all is adoration.

It is probable that the Israelites in time came to be of your opinion, and to adore the Serpent: but how well that was taken at their hands you may learn from 2 Kings xviii. 4, where we read that the godly King *Hezekiah brake in pieces the Brazen Serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense unto it.* While they only looked upon it according to God's ordinance, it was beneficial to them, but when their devotion grew to a worship, it provoked God's indignation declared in that action of Hezekiah upon which the sacred writer puts an approval in these words—*And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord.*

Your second discovery is, *Joshua* vii. 6., where we only find that Joshua, together with the elders of Israel, fell upon their faces before the Ark, and prayed to God; and *that* you take for an adoration of the Ark. Thus whensoever you pray before an Altar or a Bible, you adore the Altar and the Bible!

The third instance, to which you say Protestants will never answer, is, that the Lord's Supper is a representation of Christ's passion, and a figure of his body, and is religiously worshipped by them, if they do what St. Paul requires, 1 Cor. xi. 28. And what does St. Paul require in that place? This—*Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.* That Protestants should never answer this argument is no wonder; what answer can there be, where there is no question? And questionless there is no sign, nor the least intimation that adoration ought to be given to the communion-

bread, in the passage which you quote. It is a work of your fancy—no discovery of common sense—to imagine that worship is offered by God's ordinance to the Serpent, to the Ark, or to the Communion-bread, in the passages which you adduce. You must give me leave to tell you, that your argument is so frivolous, as to require no more serious answer, than to put you in mind of a Spanish Proverb, *Quien Vaccas ha perdido, cencerros se le antoxan*—He who has lost his oxen, bells ring in his ears; his vehement desire of finding his oxen, makes him think that every noise of a bough, or leaf of a tree stirred by the wind, is the sound of the bells which his oxen bear; so your strong fancy for Image-worship makes you conceive it to exist, even where no shape nor sound of it appears.

You confess that Images were little used in the Primitive Church, nay, were absolutely prohibited in the Council of *Eliberis*;* but that was (say you) to avoid the scandal of Pagans, and the relapse of those converted from Paganism. And are there not Pagans yet in the world? Is not a conversion of them still to be aimed at? What consequence is to it decry their adoration of stocks and stones,† and when they come to your

* The Canon of this Council held at Elvira in Spain, A.D. 305, has afforded no little trouble to Romish Controvertists. *Bellarmine* and a copyist of him resolve the prohibition into "a fear lest the pictures should be spoiled by the damp or defaced by the Heathen." *Alan Cope* affirms that "it was so decreed lest the Christians should take them for gods;" and *Melchior Canus*, best of all perhaps, and openly, declares that the Council was both *impious and impudent* in so decreeing. (*Loc. Theol.* lib. 5. cap. 4.) "By this we may see," continues Bp. Taylor, "not only how irreverently the Roman Doctors use the Fathers when they are not for their turn; but we may also perceive how the Canon (36th.) condemns the Roman doctrine and practice in the matter of Images." *Dissuasive from Popery*, pp. 475—477, edit. Oxf. 1836; *Concill. Gen. studio Labbei*, tom. 2. col. 975. The whole of Bp. Taylor's section on this division of his subject is admirable.

† Instead of "decrying," the Jesuit Missionaries accommodated themselves fully to Heathen customs and superstitions for the sake of propagating their own Jugglery with better success. *Robert de Nobili*, for instance, decked himself out as a Brahmin, and when charged with the imposture which he was practising, "produced a parchment document, in the ancient Indian character, certifying that the Brahmins of Rome were *lineally* descended from Brahma, and that they had moreover considerably the advantage of their Indian namesakes in point of antiquity. (*Norbert mem. Hist. sur les Missions des Malabars.*) Father Juvenci, a Jesuit, in his History of the Order, adds another circumstance too characteristic to be passed unnoticed, that when the authenticity of the document itself was

Churches to see you performing to Images all those acts of worship which they used to offer to their idols, by genuflection, thurification, &c. To speak to them of your distinction of terminative and relative worship will be insignificant; as in itself it is vain for the reason which I proposed, p. 70* of my former discourse, to which you have given no answer.

I alleged *Nicephorus*, saying, it is an absurd thing to make Images of the Trinity, and yet they do it in the Roman Church. You say, that what *Nicephorus* and others consider absurd, is to paint Images of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as they are in their proper substance and nature. *Nor do the Catholics use it as you falsely criminate them*, say you to me: but herein certainly you do most falsely criminate me in saying, that I should impose such a thing upon them. Where have I said that Papists paint the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as they are in their proper substance and nature? Or how could any man, in his senses, conceive that Images of that kind could be drawn with material colours? To attempt the drawing of any shape of them, is what *Nicephorus* called *absurd*, and *Damascene* madness and impiety,† *Insipientiæ summæ est et impietatis figurare quod est divinum.* Of this madness *Cajetan* more ingenuous than you confesses your Church to be guilty; who after having said, that in the old Law, certainly Images of God were prohibited, and for the same reason were reprehended as unlawful by several Doctors among Christians, since in both occasions they may engender in men a false conception of God's nature; yet concludes in these words, *In oppositum autem est usus Ecclesiæ, admittens Trinitatis imagines, representantes non solum Filium incarnatum,*

questioned by some Hindoo Sceptics, Nobili re-asserted *upon oath*, before an assembly of Brahmins, the reality of his descent from their god Brahma!" *Any how* the grand object was attained, and *numbers* began to flock to the Missionary's standard, and he soon reckoned an army of 40,000 or 100,000 strong. For the means by which such levies were effected we must refer to the series of excellent papers, from one of which we have quoted a few lines, in the *Protestant Guardian* 1828, p. 314, 374, and October, 166; to Mosheim, Cent. XVII. sect. 1. §. 7; and to Hough's *Reply to the Letters of the Abbè Dubois*, (London, 1824,) pp. 64. 110; and to the same author's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 2. p. 479. The resemblance between the Brahmins and the Jesuits—both of the men and their designs—has been long noticed, p. 228.

* Page 49 of the present volume.

† Damascen. l. 4. c. 15. *ante medium.*

*sed Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum—that contrary* (to the said reasons and authority of Damascene) *the Church uses to admit Images of the Trinity, representing not only the Son incarnate, but also the Father and the Holy Ghost.* To which I add, of my knowledge, that they use not only a picture of the Trinity* as you describe, in the forms of an old man, our Saviour, and a dove;† but in the form of one man with three heads, or three faces in one head, both indecent and horrible to look upon. And thus much for the matter of fact of your painting the Holy Trinity. Now I will pass on to see how able you are to defend your practice herein, from the guilt of Idolatry.

* See Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, pt. 1. ch. 1. sect. ix.; and pt. 2. sect. vi.

† The Editor has in his possession a fine large folio Breviary containing, among other well executed engravings, a plate of such a description, only with this difference, that the Almighty, resting his feet on the circle of the globe, is crowned with the Papal tiara. The Plate precedes the office for All Saints day. The title page of the volume runs thus: *Breviarium Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum, et Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum.* Antverpiæ, M.DC.XIV.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Mr.* I. S.'s *defence of the Romish worship of Images from the guilt of Idolatry confuted. The miserable condition of the Commonalty, and embarassing situation of the Learned among Romanists, with regard to the worship of Images, discussed.*

You pretend, that though it be Idolatry, to adore an Image as a God, yet not so to adore God in an Image. To which, I answer, *first*, that very many of your best authors, *Alensis*, *Albert*, *Bonaventure*, *Abulensis*, *Soto*, and others quoted and followed by *Vasquez*, *in* 3. *p. disp.* 104. *c.* 2, affirm, that God did not only forbid, in the second Commandment, that which was unlawful by the law of nature, as the worship of an Image for God, but also the worshipping of the true God by any similitude.

You will not be engaged in defending the consistency of their doctrine herein, by saying, that the same precept of not adoring God by an Image, does not oblige Christians; neither indeed is it easy to perceive the consistency of it. Certainly you will never find that God dispensed in the aforesaid Law with Christians; neither can any reason be imagined why such a practice should be lawful at one time, and not in another; why Jews should be farther from Idolatry than Christians. That this was the sin of the Jews, in the worship of the Golden Calf, which was so offensive to God, I mean, that they adored it as an image of God, and not supposing it to have been a real God, is most apparent by the words of the context, *These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt,* Exod. xxxii. 4. Who can believe that men not altogether destitute of common sense, would seriously judge that Images, made under their own eyes, out of their own gold, should be a real God? In what sense or reason could they say that *it was he that brought them up out of the land of Egypt*, which had been effected long before that Calf was made? If you reply that *Aaron* declared that Calf to be a God,

saying, *These are thy Gods*, or, *This is thy God*, as you have in the IXth. of *Nehemiah* (the plural being taken for the singular in the former place by a Hebraism), I answer, that it was a tropical expression; as you are wont to say, where there are Images of the Apostles, *This is St. Peter*, and *This is St. Paul*, meaning the Images of *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*. And as you say, in your processions on holy Friday, of the Cross which you bear in your hand, and raise up to be adored by the people, bowing upon their knees, *Ecce Lignum Crucis in quo Salus mundi pependit—Behold the wood of the Cross upon which hung the Saviour of the world;* surely you are not so senseless as to think that these words are verified in a literal sense,* of the Cross which you bear in your hand, but rather in a tropical, having a reference to the Cross whereon our Saviour was really fixed. In the same sense you must suppose that Aaron spoke of the Golden Calf (if you will not make him quite senseless) when he said, *This is thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt*, which is to say—This is a type or Image of thy God who brought thee up, &c.; and under that notion the people adored it. And all this while I hope you will not pretend to absolve them from the guilt of Idolatry, for which they were so severely punished by

* But that this is ordinarily supposed to be the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and defended as such, was shewn in a remarkable way in as remarkable a letter of Mons. Imbert to Bossuet. "Having reminded Bossuet of a kindness which he had formerly conferred on the writer, M. Imbert thus proceeds—'I have suffered persecution, especially since the time that your Lordship published your *Exposition of the Faith*. Your enemies who dare not declare against your Lordship, declare themselves against those who *say the same things*. And at this instant the Archbishop of Bourdeaux has caused a process to be made against me, for having explained upon Good Friday, that we adore Jesus Christ crucified, *in the presence of the Cross*, and that we do *not adore* any thing that *we see*. And forasmuch as the Curé replied upon the place aloud '*the* WOOD, *the* WOOD;' I added, 'No, no, 'tis Jesus Christ and not the wood.' And when he added, '*Ecce Lignum, venite, adoremus*,' I took him up, saying, 'on which the Saviour of the world hung; come let us adore this Saviour of the world.'" But, asks Dr. Kenney, what benefit did M. Imbert derive from his appeal to the *Exposition*, and from all his applications? an important question where a book put forward (at times) as a true exposition of the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome is concerned—his agreement with the Exposition of Bossuet was deemed no excuse for him; and he was threatened with perpetual imprisonment, or death itself for his offence!!! See Dr. Kenney's very valuable *Facts and Documents*, (London, 1827,) pp. 42—45.

God; as we read in Exod. xxxii. Idolatry therefore is not only to adore an Image as God, but also to adore God *in* an Image.

If we will give credit to Pagans relative to their belief, they will tell us, that they were never so blind as to think that the Statues themselves which they adored were Gods, *Nemo unquam tam fatuus fuit,* says *Cicero, qui saxum et lapidem* Jovem *esse credidit—none was ever so void of sense as to suppose that a stone should be Jupiter.* Neither could such a belief consist with what is generally supposed by them, that their gods are in heaven. Thus the inhabitants of Lystra when they saw Paul and Barnabas heal a man who had been a cripple from his birth, said, *The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men,* Acts xiv. 11. And if even Pagans thought it a stupidity unbecoming men of common sense, to conceive a stock or a stone to be a God, still less ought we to imagine, that the Israelites with so much advantage of instruction should be so brutish. Their guilt therefore was not in supposing that the Golden Calf was God, but in attempting the worship of God by an Image, which is your guilt.

You conclude that to worship the Image of Christ and his saints, cannot be called Idolatry; for an Idol (say you) is a representation of a Deity that has no being, but Christ and his saints have a being, &c. If you are speaking of the subject of idolatrous worship tending to something created, it is true that it looks upon a Deity that has no being. But if you believe *St. Paul,* the real object of their worship was the true God which he preached, *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you,* Acts xvii. 23.; and, notwithstanding, he rebuked them for Idolaters: therefore Idolatry is not only a worship dedicated to false gods, but also a worship of the true God in a way prohibited.

But how will this your discourse apply to shelter from Idolatry the worship given to Images of Saints, which have in them no Divinity real or apprehended? Is it because they have a being opposite to a Chimera or nothing? Then the adorers of *Mars* or *Apollo* in their Statues (and so of other Idols) were no Idolaters. Those Statues or Idols were representations of men (whether living or dead is not material) not Chimerical, but such as had had a real being. Read the origin of Idolatry described in the XIVth. Chapter of *Wisdom* from the 12th verse: you shall find that it began by making Images of men, absent or dead, to honour

their memory. Besides, your supposition is clearly contrary to what God's commandment against the worship of Images supposes, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, or the likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath*, &c. Exod. xx. 4. Images of things are prohibited to be worshipped, and of things really existing either in the heaven or upon earth.

But, as you hope to be saved, will you lay aside prejudices and subtilties awhile, and speak once sincerely? What is it that makes you so eager for the worship of Images? Is it any Divine Precept that moves or forces to it? We never heard you talk of any such precept, and there is at least a very probable assurance of a precept of God extant, prohibiting under terrible penalty such a worship. There is moreover a certain danger of occasioning, in the ruder sort, a downright gross Idolatry, by an absolute direct worship of the Images which you set up to be worshipped, without those distinctions and precisions wherewith you pretend to justify your practice; and of which *Ludovicus Vives* gives* this testimony:—*Divos divasque non aliter venerantur quam Deum ipsum, nec video in multis quod discrimen sit inter eorum opinionem de Sanctis, et id quod Gentiles putabant de Diis suis—they worship holy men and women very much as they do God himself; neither can I perceive in many things wherein their opinion respecting Saints differs from that of Pagans concerning their gods. Polydore Vergil (De rerum inventoribus lib. 6. cap. 13.)* speaks to the same purpose in these words: *Sunt enim benè multi rudiores qui ligneas, saxeas, marmoreas, æneas, item in parietibus pictas Imagines colunt, non ut figuras, sed perinde quasi ipsæ sensum aliquem habeant, quique eis magis fidunt quam Christo ipsi, aut aliis Divis quibus dicatæ fuerunt*—In the Church of Rome *there are many who worship Images of stocks, stones, brass, or painted on walls, not as figures, but just as if they had some sense in them, and who put more trust in them than in Christ himself, or in the Saints to whom they are dedicated.*

This being the case, what prudence can it be to expose your own salvation, and the salvation of others, to a certain danger, by

* Vives *in Comm. ad August. de Civitate Dei l. 8. c. ultimo.*

practising a worship, at least very probably prohibited by God under pain of damnation? This is the unhappy condition, in which you are placed; and hence our great advantage over you in our debates, that if you are in an error, as very probably you seem to be, you are liable to damnation: not so we, though you should be in the right; for on our part there is no transgression of any Divine precept, and consequently no fear of damnation in not worshipping an Image. In the same predicament you are placed in your worship of the Eucharist. If Christ be not there after the manner which you pretend, you are damnable Idolaters; as many of your own Authors do, and any one who is rational must needs confess. But on whatsoever side the truth lies in that controversy, our practice is free from danger of sinning by not paying the worship of *Latria* to the Eucharist, since no precept of God obliges us to give it such worship. This with the similar advantages, which we have over you in all other points controverted, made me choose the way of the Church of *England* as surer to salvation than yours.

What profit do you expect from the worship of Images? I understand what possible profit there may be in the use of devout* Images (if separated from the worship) that they may form a book to the ruder sort, for raising their minds to heavenly things. But this benefit is not so great, nor the hope of getting to heaven this way so warrantable; as the danger of losing it by unlawful worship is imminent. While the use of Images was harmless and beneficial, it was justly retained. It were insolence in a member of any Church or Congregation to oppose a custom or use introduced into it, while indifferent and not opposed to a higher law. But if that use degenerated into an abuse and transgression of God's Commandments, then it is to be reformed or rejected. This is what happened in the case of the Brazen Serpent, as before related. And this is the case of the Reformed Churches with regard to Images.† While and where a pious and

* Images to assist devotion are probably meant. Ed.

† It is rather strange that Dr. Sall should speak so much at his ease about Reform. It is exceedingly difficult to effect, or to get effected, any discontinuance of even an "abuse," much more to attain to a Reform or rejection; especially too on such a point as the worship of Saints and Angels, &c., which seems, we doubt not, to many poetical and romantic Protestants, very elegant and interesting.

innocent use was made of them, they were allowed, and so are even yet. But when it was perceived that the abuse of unlawful worship was offered them, they removed them from the sight of the common people, who are apt to commit those abuses in places of worship.

Now we have seen how far this kind of abuse has spread among your people both learned and vulgar. As for the latter, reflect on what we have related out of *Vives* and *Polydore*. Add to theirs the testimony of George Cassander, a man renowned for his calm and even temper as well as for his learning, and who by both might have contributed to the peace and unity of Christian Churches, if the inflexible pride of the Court of *Rome* would have suffered any limit to be put to its ambition. Of the worship of Images he speaks thus:—*Manifestius est quam ut multis verbis explicari debe at, Imaginum et Simulachrorum cultum nimium invaluisse, et affectioni seu potius superstitioni populi plus satis indultum esse; ita ut ad summam adorationem quæ vel à Paganis suis Simulachris exhiberi consuevit, &c.—It is so clear that it needs but few words to declare it, that the worship of Images and Statues has prevailed too much, and that too much liberty has been given to the devotion or rather superstition of the people, so as that it has come to the very height of worship, which even Pagans were accustomed to render to their idols.**

And truly it is a deplorable thing which *Jerom* Llamas, as an eye-witness of it, relates as having happened among the people of *Asturias, Cantabria,* and *Gallicia,* no small Provinces of *Spain,* viz., that they were so addicted to their worm-eaten and deformed Images, that when the Bishops ordered new and handsome Images to be set up in their room, the poor people cried for their old ones, and would not look up to the new, as if they did not represent the same thing; or really, as we may probably guess of their blindness, that they conceived some peculiar *Numen* or Divine virtue to dwell in those old stumps of their former acquaintance, which they do not expect to find in those new and neater Images.† And thus goes the matter with the commoner

* Cassander *Consult.* art. 21. cap. *de Imagine,* [p. 978, edit. *Oper. Cassand* Paris, 1616.]

† Hieron. Llam. Sum. p. 3. c. 3. Et adeo gens affecta est truncis corrosis et deformibus Imaginibus, ut, me teste, quoties Episcopi decentiores ponere

sort of the people [and, may we not add? with many of the gentle.]

But in my opinion it fares even far worse with the more learned of you. And such certainly were Aquinas, Alexander, Alensis, Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Cajetan, Capreolus, and others quoted by Azor, where he says, that it is the opinion received by the common consent of Divines, That the Image of Christ is to be adored with the worship of *Latria*, even the very same wherewith Christ himself is to be worshipped.* And so respectively of the Images of other Saints, that they are to be worshipped with the same kind of worship that is due to the *Prototype*. Neither do they say herein more than the Council of Trent teaches them to say. For, in the Decree abovementioned, respecting the worship of Images, it gives such a reason for it, as declares that the said worship is to be regulated by the quality of the *Prototype: Quoniam honos qui iis exhibetur refertur ad*

jubent, veteres suas petent plorantes, &c. [The author was a Spaniard and of the Cistertian Order. His *Summa Ecclesiastica* appears to have been published at Brescia, 1606. He died in 1610. Antonio *Biblioth. Hisp. nova*, tom. 1. 588. Yet such effects might be expected, as are adverted to, when we find that the head of the System, Pope Urban VIII. took such an interest in Saintship, that he joined *St. Teresa* with *St. James* in the Patronage of *Spain*, of which many persons complained loudly as an indignity done to the Apostle, their old Patron and General in all their wars, by that Partnership. "Among others *Quevedo*, as in honour bound, being a Knight of the Order of *St. James* drew his pen in his Patron's quarrel; (*Memorial por el Patronato de St. Jago;* Saragossa, 1629,) and having laid down this as an undeniable position, that St. James *must necessarily be disparaged*, by having one joined with him, *and especially a woman*, in a patronage he had enjoyed solely for so many ages: did manfully maintain, 1st. That, its being said in the Pope's Bull, that nothing was granted therein to *Teresa*, that should be in any wise to the prejudice or diminution of St. James, did make that whole grant null and void; for that *joining her with St. James* in such an office must necessarily lessen him; *secondly*, that the saints in heaven did resent such affronts; *thirdly*, that it was monstrous ingratitude in *Spain* to treat her Patron thus, who had personally on *horseback* fought for her in all her battles with the Moors among whom to this day the Captain on the white horse was formidable!" See *Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar*, p. 379, in Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 2. p. 110; Antonio *Biblioth. Hisp. nova*, 1. 462.

If such subjects occupied the *serious* attention of the *Pastors*, how could it be expected but that the *flock* would employ itself in a humble imitation of their Superiors?

* Azor. *tom.* 1. *Inst. moral.* c. 6. *sect.* 2. *Hæc sententia est communi Theologorum consensu recepta.*

*prototypa, quæ illæ repræsentant; ita ut per Imagines, quas osculamur et coram quibus caput aperimus, et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur—The honour which we give to Images* (says the Council) *is referred to the Prototypes which they represent; so as that by the Images which we kiss, and before which we uncover our head and bow down, we adore Christ and worship the Saints, whose likeness they bear.* Whence follows what the aforementioned Divines affirmed, That the worship of Images, being to be measured by the quality of their *Prototypes*, the worship of *Latria* is due to the Image of Christ; *that* being the worship which is due to himself. And by your denial of this to be the doctrine of your Church, Mr. *I. S.*, you will the more easily persuade us that you are beginning to grow ashamed of your doctrine, (as well you may) than that you understand the tenets of the Roman Church better than *Azor* did, or those other Divines of the greatest eminence among you, by him quoted.

Such being the case, consider the miserable condition of your doctrine, how poorly you can defend it from the infamous stigma of Idolatry. If you believe the best Interpreters of the proper signification of the word *Idolum*, you shall find them declare that it signifies no more than *Imago*. So that an Image adored or worshipped is in propriety of speech an *Idol* worshipped; and consequently a worship of *Latria* given to an *Image* or an *Idol* (for they are the same) is in all propriety of speech *Idololatria*. Therefore according to the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, and your Divines beforementioned, by the worship of *Latria* given by you to the Image of Christ you commit formal Idolatry. I wish with all my heart you did not, and that no argument of mine, nor of any other person could prove you guilty of this horrid crime.

By this you may perceive how the Council of *Trent*, and the most eminent of your Schoolmen countenance the stupid error of the vulgar among you, and even exceed it. It is plain that they deliver in formal terms, what I am certain would be a horror to the meaner capacities, if they apprehended the sinful absurdity of it. And your pretension to more prudence in not terming your worship *Latria* does not heal the wound, nor so much as cover it from any clear-sighted eyes. The real guilt consists in wor-

shipping Images against the Ordinance of God; give that worship what name you please.

If I should affirm that your people pray to Images of wood or stone, and therein practise that great folly, of which the wise man accuses the Idolater, that *he is not ashamed to speak to that which has no life; for health he calls upon that which is weak, for life prays to that which is dead,* (Wisdom XIII. 17.)—if I should add moreover that your Church teaches them to do so—certainly you will declare that it is a great calumny. But then tell me I pray whose words are these which you address to the Cross in the Procession on Good Friday.

*O Crux! ave spes unica,*
*Hoc Passionis tempore,*
*Auge piis justitiam,*
*Reisque dona veniam.*

*Hail, O Cross! our only hope in this time of Passion; give increase of grace to the godly, and pardon to sinners.*

If you tell me that these are the words of the Church (which you will not deny) but addressed to Christ, not to the Cross, *Azor* gainsays you; for he declares that in those words the Church is addressing the Cross—*Ecclesia cum Crucem veneratur et colit, eam salutat et alloquitur, cum ait, O Crux ave,* &c.—*the Church* (says he) *in adoring the Cross, salutes it, and speaks to it, saying, Hail, O Cross,* &c. And is not this *to speak to that which has no life?* &c. Thus your people do, and (which is worse) thus your Church teaches them to do. And thus we see that both your Church and people practise what all Idolaters do to their idols.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Our Adversary's reply to my exceptions against their Invocation of Saints shewn to be irrelevant.*

Mr. *I. S.* is so *exact* a Disputant, that he deems it a sufficient answer to my arguments, if he does but mention the subject of them, and say *something* of what his notes or stock of knowledge affords him, without taking the trouble of examining further whether what he says be to the purpose of my argument or not. This is usual with him, but very conspicuous in the present case concerning the Invocation of Saints.

I began with accusing their excesses in calling the Virgin Mary their *Life* and *Hope*, their Redeemeress and Saviouress.* This I affirmed to be contrary to St. *Peter's* declaration, that *there is no salvation in any other besides Jesus Christ, and that there is no other name under Heaven given among men,*

* There seems to be no bound to excess upon this subject. "In Paris the Municipality annually disburses considerable sums for pictures, statuary, and other ornamental offerings to the Churches, one of which recently opened, being that of St. Mary of *Loretto*, has been described by the *Constitutionel* as so richly set out with pretty decorations, that it may be called the Virgin's *Boudoir*—I quote the very words." *Letter from France in Record, Feb.* 23, 1837. Upon the general subject see Southey's *Letters to C. Butler, Esq.* pp. 432—470.

In the year 1838 a Jubilee was celebrated in remembrance of the Miracles wrought by the image of *our Lady of Hanswyck* at Malines. There were Cavalcades of 8 Chariots or Cars—36 Damsels represented the Litanies of the Virgin, and carried in their hands different tablets descriptive of the titles of the Mother of God. Jesus Christ was represented by *Eugene Hagaerts.* The second part of the cavalcade consisted of the Phil-harmonic Society of Malines preceded by Tambourines and our Lady of Malines, who was followed by all the virtues. The last part of the Procession was occupied by St. Catherine, the four sons of Aymon, Fortune's Wheel, and Cupid, &c.; all of which performances were got up in the year 1838, to amuse the inhabitants of Malines, and keep them attached to their Church, by their Archbishop! from whose Programme, as cited in the *L'Europe Protestante*, (Paris, 1839, Fevrier, p. 33) we learn farther that the Archbishop applied to Rome for Indulgences in favour of those who had taken part in the celebration of this pious Jubilee, and that the Pope replied very favourably, May 11, 1838!!

*whereby we must be saved*, (Acts iv. 12.) Upon this Mr. *I. S.* remarks, that it proves that we must not ask the Saints on earth to pray for us; which is to prove too much. I hope Mr. *I. S.* himself will not be so desperate, as to call his Colleague whose prayers he desires, his Life and Hope, his Saviour and Redeemer. But how comes it to prove that we must not desire at all the prayers of Saints upon earth?

Two excesses of Romanists in their Invocation of Saints I undertook to reprehend. To speak of all, the brevity to which my business then confined me would not permit. The one, however fixed upon is their calling the Virgin *Mary-Saviouress*, &c.; the other their dedicating more Churches and addressing more prayers to Saints than to Christ: the error of both which excesses I demonstrated by those passages of Scripture which declare Christ our Lord to be our only Saviour; and that he is more willing and able to help us than any other Saint, and that he invites us to come to *himself* for remedy under all our necessities. Your way to answer this, were, either to purge your Church of those excesses, or to prove that the Scriptures which I alleged did not clearly evidence those practices of yours to be excesses. You do neither; but instead thereof, you speak only of desiring the prayers of Saints who are alive yet upon earth; whereby you alter the state and terms of the question. I spoke of praying to Saints who are no longer on earth, and adapted my texts to the confutation of that practice. You speak of desiring those who are not yet departed this life, to pray for us; which is a far different thing. And thus we find the latter practised in the Gospel, but not the former. But you must say something, and though not to the purpose, it must be called and considered an answer.

I related some desperate expressions of your Preachers overvaluing Saints. And you, confessing they were mad, in acting thus, fall into exclamations against me for leaving the Roman Church because I saw some madmen in it. And thence you return to your wonted immodest railleries, without regarding how far you wander from truth and the purpose. Where did you find me saying that for the madness of those Friars merely, I forsook the Roman Church? Did I not allege many other grave causes for my resolution? Did I say that this was a cause at all for my

leaving that Church? I only reflected upon it as on very bad fruit which manifests the corruption of the tree. And in case it should have been in some measure a cause, how come you to imagine or think to persuade others that it should be the *only* reason? A thief who was hanged for stealing a purse, wherein was twenty pounds and sixpence, because you should hear, in the process of his cause, mention made of sixpence, would it be ingenuous or just to exclaim against the Judges,* as if they condemned a man to be hanged for merely stealing sixpence?

I confess, your disingenuousness herein is hateful to me; but if you think it ought not to be so, pray then answer me these two questions: If a Villain should come by night and cut down a score or two of those fair trees which grace the walks of the Royal Park of St. James's, Westminster, would you think it too much severity that such a Villain should be whipped about the streets for such daring insolence? But if after this check, he should run about the city and country with a little branch of one of those trees in his hand, exclaiming against the cruelty of the Judges, as if they had ordered him to be whipped about the streets of London for cutting that little branch only; would you not think him worthy to be whipped again for his notorious calumny? Behold your own case:—I expressly mentioned several grievous faults of the Roman Church which occasioned my withdrawing from her—Idolatry, Superstition, Cruelty in the conduct of souls, Impiety in preferring her own laws to those of God, rashness, and even madness, in her worship and Invocation of Saints; and among other instances I related the frantic expressions of a Friar in extolling his Saint, as one of the branches proceeding from that vitiated Tree. Of this one branch you lay hold, and cry that I have left the communion of the Roman Church, merely because I saw in it a mad Friar! Give me leave to tell you that this kind of arguing deserves no better than a whipping in the Schools.

Then having answered my arguments upon this subject (say

* Dr. Sall might well ask this question, for there is nothing in which the Church of Rome takes greater liberties than in her comparative estimates. If she can discover an opponent who is a sixpenny offender in the same way as herself, she will hoot and shout about it, as if it were equal to her debt of £1000—but the reader will no doubt soon recollect instances himself.

you), and having given no answer to them (say I), as now I have shewn; you challenge me to a trial of your Scholastic skill, respecting the knowledge which Saints in heaven have of our affairs here on earth, and how far they are concerned for them: a thing whereof even your ablest Schoolmen could never yet give a clear account. Whoever shall please to read their writings on this subject, will find a theatre of confusion. The most that ever could be ascertained of what they allege, and of what may be gathered out of them, is, that God can, and sometimes did, reveal unto Saints in Heaven what was passing upon earth; but that all the Saints in Heaven should know all our thoughts, and all our particular concerns, could never be affirmed upon any *probable* ground, much less with certainty. And yet a certain knowledge of it were requisite to save your practice from the stigma of blindness and folly, in having such frequent recourse to them by mental and vocal prayers for all your particular concerns. I say moreover that although you were certain that they were acquainted with all our peculiar concerns, and were willing to be concerned for us; yet you fall very short of giving a formal answer to my exception taken against your more frequent recourse to them than to Christ for Intercession, and dedicating more temples to their names than to the name of God and Christ. How can this consist with our Christian acknowledgment of Christ as our only Mediator and Advocate? And if you deny so much to him, I hope you will not doubt that he is at least our chief Mediator and Advocate; and being so, how come you to have less recourse to him than to inferior Saints? which was what I charged upon your practice. To which you gave no answer, because you perceived that no rational or Christian answer could be given; and then finding it an easier work to have recourse to your accustomed scurrilous sarcasms, you returned them for an answer.

At last however, to the charge of building more Churches, and offering more prayers and devotions to your supposed Saints, than unto Christ, because you would seem to say something, (though nothing indeed to the purpose) you reply, that the honour which you give to the Saints you give to God in them, or to them for God. But who can understand this to be a good way to please God? If an earthly King would have the Prince, his Son and Heir to be Solicitor General to him in favour of his subjects, and

that all Royal graces and favours should be imparted to them by the hands of his Son;—can any man rationally imagine that it would be pleasing to such a King, that his subjects, neglecting their applications to the Prince, should make all, or the most frequent, to inferior servants of the Court? Apply this example, and if you do not perceive by it, the unreasonableness of that practice of yours, I think we may conclude that passion and prejudice have blinded you so far as not to see the light of noon-day.

Add to all this, that many of your supposed Saints possibly may not be Saints indeed, but wretched souls lost in Hell;* whereof your own histories afford no few instances, and the possibility of the case is evident; for most of your Saints were canonized or called Saints in popular opinion,† not by that more exact scrutiny which in latter days was ordained with a view of preventing the Invocation of Impostors and Cheats as Saints through vulgar error. It is manifest that such wicked men are solicitous, and not seldom successful in obtaining the credit of

* Cardinal Bessarion complained (apud *Bodin. in Method. Histor. cap.* 4.) that many of the Saints were such persons whose life he could not approve; and such concerning whom they knew nothing, but from their parties, and by pretended revelations made to particular and hypocondriacal persons. It is a famous saying of St. Gregory that 'the bodies of many persons are worshipped on earth, whose souls are tormented in Hell;' and Augustinus Triumphus affirms, that 'all who are canonized by the Pope cannot be said to be in heaven.' And the matter is beyond dispute; for Prateolus tells that Herman the author of the Heresy of the Fratricelli was for 20 years together after his death honoured for a Saint, but afterwards his body was taken up and burnt." Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive*, pt. 1, p. 105, Oxf. 1836; and Riveti *Jesuita Vap.* cap. 6. §. 4—6. For an account of some failures in this line the Reader may consult Sandys's *Survey of Religion in the Western Parts*, pp. 187, 188, edit. 1687.

"St. Martin," says Bellarmine, "had for some time entertained doubts as to the propriety of prayers offered by the people in his neighbourhood to a *supposed* Saint, because there was nothing very certain or satisfactory in the traditions concerning him. One day, however, when St. Martin was at prayers, the ghost of this personage, or supposed Saint appeared to him, and *frankly* confessed that *he was a damned spirit; that when alive he had been a robber, and that he had suffered death for his crimes by the hand of the public executioner.*" Bellar. *de beatit. Sanct.* l. 1. c. 7.

† The Biographers and spiritual prompters of these persons have been often far more to blame than themselves. The creating of these spiritual Peers rests solely with the Pope and Priesthood—the people have, as usual with *Rome*, no vote upon the occasion.

Saints with the vulgar. That is the business of hypocrites; whereas true Saints are not concerned to blazon their virtues, but to please only the eyes of God.

And even now, after the many solemnities and scrutinies ordained before proceeding to a canonization, the matter still remains uncertain. Many of your learned Schoolmen deny the Pope to be infallible therein. He may be misinformed; and why not? May not cheats intervene, and bribes work in such informations, as in others? A Town or Society that will undertake to get one of their members canonized as a Saint, and thereby obtain considerable emoluments of credit and interest to their body may possibly make use of those indirect means and solicitations, which other men aspiring to similar purchases are capable of exercising.

In this case, how can you defend, at least from blindness and imprudence, your practice of more frequent recourse to your supposed Saints, than to the supreme undoubted Saint of saints Jesus Christ? Not to consider at present how much this doctrine of the Invocation of Saints is in itself injurious to God, by giving that worship to creatures which belongs to himself alone; as may appear by all those passages of Scripture which appropriate our Invocation to God alone, in regard of his incommunicable attributes of Omniscience, Infinite goodness and power; nor how dishonourable it is to Christ, both in regard of his Infinite Merit and office of Mediator.

And finally the silence as to such a practice in the first and better ages of the Church; so that Cardinal *Perron* was brought to confess, that in the authors who lived nearer the Apostles' times, in the three first centuries no vestiges can be found of the Invocation of Saints—this silence, I say, is a sufficient argument of the unlawfulness of this practice, and how unsuitable it is to the spirit of the Apostles. *Origen* is not only silent upon such a practice, but directly protests against it in several places, affirming that prayers and supplications are to be addressed only to God by Jesus Christ. For being asked by *Celsus*, what opinion Christians had of Angels; he answers, that though the Scripture sometimes calls them gods, it is not with an intention that we should offer worship to them, *for all prayers and supplications* (says he) *and intercession and thanksgiving are to be sent up to the Lord of all by the High Priest, who is above all Angels*

*being the Living Word of God.** And reflecting often upon the unreasonableness of making these addresses, owing to the little knowledge which we have of their condition, he adds—that even such a knowledge, if we were furnished with it, *would not permit us to presume to pray unto any other but God the Lord of all, who is abundantly sufficient for all by our Saviour the Son of God.* And after he declares how Angels and Saints may assist us, and pray for us to God, if we are in the favour and endeavour to please him: *We must endeavour to please God only* (says he) *who is over all, and pray that he may be propitious to us, procuring his good will by piety and all kind of virtue.* And reflecting upon the proposal of Celsus of worshipping demons or angels, he adds these remarkable words—*But if he will yet have us to procure the good will of any after Him who is God over all, let him consider that as when the body is moved, the motion of the shadow doth follow it; so in like manner, having God favourable to us, who is over all, it follows that we shall have all his friends, both angels, and souls, and spirits, favourable to us; for they have a sympathy with them that are thought worthy to find favour with God * * * * so that we may be bold to say, that when men, who with a resolution propose to themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them uncalled upon.*†

In this and in various similar testimonies of *Origen*, and other writers of his time, we find mention of angels and saints, to pray for men, and to help them, by God's appointment; but we find no mention at all of such a thing as an Invocation of them. He says they pray together with us, when we pray to God himself, and that not because we first prayed to them to pray for us, but *uncalled upon.* Here we have the spirit of that Church truly Catholic and Apostolic declared to us, that we are to make our addresses of prayers and invocations to God alone, and thereby win the assistance and prayers of heavenly spirits in our favour. For as *all the world shall fight with him against the unwise sinners,* so all the Court of Heaven will assist their King in favouring his saints and servants.

* Origen *contra Celsum* lib. 5. p. 233. edit. Cantab. 1677.

† Origen, ibid. lib. 8. p. 420. [What Dr. Sall has translated in this quotation *please*, is in the original "appease" ἐξευμενιστέον. The reader may be referred possibly with advantage to Dr. Dwight's Sermon, (No. 18) on this subject.]

## CHAPTER XXV.

*A great stock of faults and absurdities discovered in Mr.* I. S.'s *defence of Purgatory.*

Sir, as you evince your talents especially to lie in souring your pen with all manner of sauciness, even without occasion given to you, and by starting often from the point and purpose to sport yourself in a sea of bitterness; so it is my no small care (and certainly a harder task than to answer your arguments) to restrain my pen from pouring upon you continual showers of heavy censure, whether when reflecting upon your boldness in asserting manifest untruths; or upon your rudeness and malice in misunderstanding, or misrepresenting, the state and terms of the question in every point of my discourse which you pretend to answer; or, in shunning shamefully or childishly the point in debate, and proposing another of your own instead of answering; as schoolboys do, with riddles or hard questions, as they call them; when they want an answer to one of them, they return for answer another of the same kind of questions. Of all these faults I could easily prove you guilty in every point which you have handled, from the beginning of your book to the end. I have abstained from doing it in formal reflections (though in my replies prefaced with your Propositions, the discreet reader may easily perceive that your aforesaid faults are really contained)—out of my aversion to offensive expressions, and because I fear to offend my friends and patrons on this side, as you hope to please yours, by bitter language. But when you utter palpable untruths, shall I desert the defence of truth in order not to prove you to be a falsifier? When you clearly abandon the question proposed, and misrepresent the case, or misunderstand it, shall I desist in my serious and close enquiry after the truth, just to shelter your ignorance and weakness? So much complacency you must not expect from me; and by shewing that you are guilty of all these faults in your reply to my discourse, upon the point of Purgatory, you will perceive that I have been indulgent to you, in not enlarging upon

a formal discovery of them in all the points hitherto treated upon between us. Now to the proof of so much.

I began my discussion upon the point of Purgatory with the method and order that exact disputants are wont to observe in handling seriously any subject: First examining what we are to understand under the notion of Purgatory; secondly, whether such a thing be really extant. As to the first, I stated that I did not find the more learned men of the Romish Church so confident as the Vulgar in taking for Purgatory, a determinate place in the bowels of the earth,* with those frightful qualities which their legends specify; being contented to conclude from some passages of Scripture, by conjecture, that after this life there must be some place to expiate sins, without determining whether that place be over, or under, or in the earth; or whether the pain be heat, or cold, or darkness, or tempest, &c. This you call raillery; but it is not my humour to indulge in raillery in such serious subjects: they are the terms in which the more grave and modest writers of your own party are accustomed to express the matter. But such is the unhappiness of the cause in which you are, that your doctrine can hardly be mentioned in terms that may not render it ridiculous. All this you say is to no purpose; for the question is not where Purgatory is, or what is the condition of people there, but whether there be any such thing as Purgatory. I would fain know what purpose it is to which you say that this discourse is not pertinent? I am confident it is the purpose of fitting my questions to your answers, when you want answers befitting my questions. You saw your shame discovered in deluding the people with romantic notions, for which your learned men could not discover any serious or solid ground; and not finding yourself with stock to answer that charge, you must put it off and say that *it is not to the purpose!* You are much of a stranger to disputes and books, if you do not know that there are questions concerning the essence, quality, and situation of Purgatory, as well as affecting the existence of it. You can never have learnt what good logic is, and an orderly method of proceeding by it to a demonstration, if you did not know that the question, *Quid sit*,

* This is hardly correct, for Bellarmine seems quite disposed to find a local habitation; see *de Purgat.* lib. 2, cap. 6; and Southey's *Letters to C. Butler, Esq.* pp. 176—79.

ought to precede in some measure the question, *An sit;* that to know whether a thing be existent, we must have a knowledge of the quality of such a thing, at least so far as to understand the meaning of the word, and some knowledge of the thing signified by it. If you send a person to the market to know whether a Camel be there, you must prepare him with some notion of the thing, whereby he may distinguish it from a Cow or a Goat; otherwise how can he bring you a report of the existence of a Camel in that place? It may happen to him, as to a countryman, who hearing a report in his village of a Monkey which the Bishop of the neighbouring City possessed, and being desirous to see it, having met with an Ass coming out of the Bishop's house, he cried out to his companions to come and see the Bishop's Monkey. If he had been informed beforehand what the word Monkey signified, he would not have fallen into this ridiculous mistake. To prevent similar mistakes, good scholars generally premise some notion of the question, *Quid sit*—what the thing is which they are looking for, before they enter into the question *An sit*—whether such a thing be in existence.

To this purpose I premised a brief consideration respecting the quality and notice of Purgatory, and then proceeded immediately to examine the grounds exhibited by the Roman Church for the existence of it. But Mr. *I. S.* not finding himself furnished to encounter me in this way takes another, telling us what is of faith and what is not, relative to Purgatory; and then brings forward a stock of arguments in favour of it, which he will have us take for his own though very trivial; and falls a quarrelling with other Protestants, I know not whom, without any mention or regard in the meantime of answering my arguments; just copying the aforesaid plan of young schoolboys, to propose one question as an answer to another.

But finding that the arguments which he uses are insufficient for his purpose, he tells us that though the testimony which he alleges in favour of Purgatory be not convincing, yet that their doctrine must stand because they have been many years in possession of it; and therefore must retain it as long as we do not beat them out of it by positive proofs: he then expostulates with me that in all my discourse relating to Purgatory, I bring no text of Scripture which states there is no such thing.

Surely there is no man of common sense who understands the English language, now so enriched with Latin and school-terms transfused into ordinary conversation, but will perceive the strange hallucination of this man in this expression of his proposition. It is not for Doctors and Masters in Universities alone, among Englishmen, to understand the propriety of these terms *affirmative* and *negative*, and the different duties of him who stands upon the negative, and of the other who stands upon the affirmative in a debate;—that it is the latter who ought to produce proofs of what he affirms, while his Adversary complies with the rule shewing that such proofs are not convincing—to understand this much, I say, I need not appeal to great Doctors; any man of common understanding may be a competent judge in it. What kind of people then, did Mr. *I. S.* pretend to persuade, that I was not complying with the duties of a formal disputant in refuting the assertors of Purgatory, by shewing that the testimonies produced by them were not convincing? My purpose was not to prove the existence of any thing; but the non-existence of a thing which they call Purgatory. To pretend that the non-existence of a thing must be proved by positive arguments, is to pretend that a non-entity, or nothing, should be painted with colours.

He tells us that we are the Actors, and they Defenders in this controversy—that it is our part to exhibit proofs. But herein he does not tell truth: for they are Actors and Imposers upon us of articles to which they will force our belief. It is their duty to prove that such an article is contained in the word of God; and as long as they do not, we are in possession of the liberty, of which they pretend to rob us, by forcing upon us the belief of Purgatory. He tells us that they have been for a long time in possession of this doctrine. Be it so; may not a possessor be questioned about the title and right of his possession, and dispossessed, if his titles be not found justified? This is the case between us and them. We maintain that their titles for imposing upon men the belief of Purgatory are invalid and fictitious; they must shew the contrary or forfeit their possession.

The case standing thus, you must not expect Mr. *I. S.* to put me off by stratagems of schoolboys, in returning for answer irrelevant questions: I must keep you to the point; for I am

desirous in earnest to find out the truth. The point is whether the testimonies of Scripture alleged by your Church for asserting Purgatory, are convincing? I said the chief place alleged by it out of the *Old Testament* is the case of *Judas Maccabeus* sending money to Jerusalem, in order that sacrifices might be offered for his defunct soldiers. Herein, you say, that I am mistaken; that you have other testimonies more convincing of your own discovering. But will you dare to prefer your own judgment to the judgment of your Church, which in her anniversary Mass for the dead, of all the testimonies of the Old Testament, makes choice of the aforesaid place of *Judas Maccabeus*, proposing it for the Epistle to be read to the people in that Mass? Will you have us say that your Church made choice of that text beyond others to be read on the Anniversary Mass of souls, because in it mention is made of a weighty sum of money to be given for the dead; and that with offerings of this kind your Clergy are much pleased, and so harp upon that string too much in their funeral sermons, exhorting to money-offerings for the dead, to the no small offence and heavy censure of such of your people as dare to speak their sentiments. By what I perceive of your temper, I am sure that you would say so, if you were in my place and case. And while you make your atonement with your Church for undervaluing her judgment in the preference of that text, forbear at all events tergiversations, and stand to a trial of the pertinency of the said text, reputed for a chief one, to prove the existence of Purgatory.

I said that though the book, relating to the before-cited case were Canonical, and of certain authority (which is not allowed) yet that it was no conclusive argument to prove the existence of Purgatory; since Prayers for the dead may be made and were made to different purposes, than that of drawing them out of Purgatory; and if that be so, it is not a good consequence that Judas Maccabeus ordering prayers to be made for his defunct soldiers, therefore it was to draw them out of Purgatory. That prayers may be offered for the dead, and for a different purpose than to draw them out of Purgatory, I proved first from a doctrine received among Romish Doctors, that God being present to all the spaces of Eternity, may see now and listen to prayers that may be offered in any after age; and foreseeing that godly persons shall pray in the future for the assistance of his grace to one

dying now, he may impart it accordingly. If this be correct (said I) prayers may be commendable and very important for the dead, though no Purgatory existed in nature; as being conducive to a better prospect of persons dying penitently, and thereby escaping the everlasting fire of Hell.

I have added, that if the case related of *Maccabeus* be true, it is more likely that the prayers made for the slain should have been offered with the object before mentioned, than for bringing them out of Purgatory;* since in the same place it is related that those men were found to have committed a mortal sin, (which is not pretended is pardoned in Purgatory:) *Under the coats of every one that was slain* (says the text, Maccab xii. 42) *they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden to the Jews by the Law.* And the following context declares *that* sin to have been heinous, forasmuch as it drew upon them God's vengeance, asserting, that *every man saw that this was the cause wherefore they were slain.*

Mr. *I. S.* is pleased to approve of that subtilty of Schoolmen, which was alleged as a ground for this reply, that prayers for the future may avail souls dying before, in order to their obtaining a good death—the only thing which I suspected might not meet with general applause, and which indeed, if certain and accordingly apprehended and believed by men, would make prayers for the dead to appear more useful and important, than ever the doctrine of Purgatory could make them yet appear to serious judgments.

But my good antagonist, allowing the same doctrine to be very good, tells me it is not to the purpose. None is more apt to call another a thief, than he who is a thief himself; and no one so ready to assert that his opponent does not speak to the purpose, as he who never speaks to the purpose himself. To this latter class I durst venture to prove good that Mr. *I. S.* belongs, from all his attempts upon my Discourse, if it were worth my while. In the meantime I appeal to every reader of common sense, to judge between him and me at present, which of us speaks to the purpose; he in asserting that my Discourse, now related, misses

* Upon Prayers for the dead, not *of course* implying a Purgatory, see Abp. Usher's *Reply to a Jesuit*, ch. 7; and the Hammersmith Discussion, p. 336.

its aim of shewing that the case of *Judas Maccabeus* does not prove the existence of a Purgatory; or *I*, in ordering thus my argument to that purpose:—The prayers supposed to have been made by the *Maccabees* might have been, and probably were, offered with another view than that of drawing the souls of their defunct out of Purgatory; therefore the circumstance of such prayers having been offered, does not prove the existence of Purgatory. The antecedent of this argument, as also the proof and declaration of it, is allowed and commended by my adversary. To enlarge in shewing the legitimacy of the consequence is to mistrust the understanding of the discreet Reader, and to misspend my time, which I am resolved not to do.

But suppose we consider briefly how my subtle adversary goes about to prove that I was not speaking to the purpose in my former discourse? For allow, says he, that those prayers made for the slain, might have had that effect in this passage, &c.—a penitent death; yet still the conclusion returns which is maintained by Bellarmine, that the passage proves that it was the belief and practice of the people of God, and extolled by Scripture, to pray for the expiation of the sins of the dead. Good sir, this is to draw breath a little, but not to escape a deadly blow given to your cause on this occasion. I take up your own words and apply them to serve my purpose thus:—Though that passage proves that it was the belief and practice of the people of God, and extolled by Scripture, to pray for the expiation of the sins of the dead, yet still my conclusion returns, that those prayers might have been offered for the expiation of sins committed by the dead in life, and to be pardoned at their death; not of sins remaining after their death, and bringing them to Purgatory, which was *Bellarmine's* statement and yours.

The texts which he alleges out of St. Dennis* and Isidorus

* To the same purpose is that of St. Dionys calling death the end of holy agonies; and therefore it is to be supposed they have no more agonies to run through immediately after death. To this E. W. answers that St. Dennis means, 'that death is the end of all the agonies of this life.' A goodly note! and never revealed till then and now; as if this were a good argument to encourage men to contend bravely, and not to fear death, because when they are once dead, they shall be no more troubled with the troubles of this life." Taylor's *Dissuasive*, pt. 2, p. 420. Oxf. 1836.

for praying for the dead, are capable of the same construction which I gave to the prayers of the *Maccabees*. This answer he might have expected from me, if he had possessed any charity, with more ground than the other, which he rashly supposes I should give,—that the ancient Fathers erred. I did not learn in the Church of *England* to respect them less. I perceive here far greater reading and regard to them than I saw among you. I know no Ochinus,* or others of those whom you mention, who ascribes to them more errors than *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Suarez*, *Maldonate*, and other of your greatest Schoolmen and Scripturians. They allege them frequently for contradictory opinions; and the one side must be in an error. You betray too much of a vulgar temper, in wondering that it should be said, that any one of the ancient Fathers has erred. They themselves confess that they have done it: it was far from their modesty and sincerity to deny it.

* This word is *Gehinus* in Sall, who it would seem (for he is speaking sarcastically) probably mistook *I. S.* as naming some obscure person, since in his work it is printed Gchinus; and from its position with other names in the sentence—"to all which Mr. Sall will answer with *Calvin*, *Gchinus*, and *Peter Martyr*, that the ancient Fathers erred"—it is most probable that *Ochinus* was intended, he having been a contemporary with those Reformers.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*The argument for Purgatory drawn from Matt.* xii. 32, *solved.*

THE chief testimony out of the New Testament alleged in favour of Purgatory, is that passage of Matt. xii. 32 where our Saviour says, that a sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be pardoned *in this world, nor in the world to come;* therefore, say they, some sins are pardoned in the other world. I denied the consequence, because out of a negative a positive does not follow; as out of this premise—*Joseph knew not his wife until she had brought forth her first born son*—this consequence [which they derive from it] does not follow, in the opinion of true Christians—*therefore he knew her after.* Mr. *I. S.* answers [p. 259] this consequence follows according to the letter of the Text; but the authority of the Church obliges us to believe that it was not so: that is to say, the Church declares against the Text. If you were not tied to this other engagement, you would deem such an argument disrespectful to your Church; but a hard undertaking puts people to hard shifts.

Bellarmine was contented to infer the existence of Purgatory from the before-cited text of St. Matthew, according to the laws of prudence, though not according to the laws of Logic. But Mr. *I. S.* [p. 260] being more bold, will maintain it to be evident according to the rules of Faith as well as Logic. The text runs thus—*Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor* [R. C. Translation] *in the future;* from which words *I. S.* argues thus—The text denies to a Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, what it grants to a Blasphemy against the Son of Man; but what it denies to the former is remission either in this life or the other; therefore what it grants to the latter is remission in this life and the other. I answer, that the Major proposition is false, for more is denied to the sin against the Holy Ghost, than

is allowed to the sin against the Son of Man; for to the former is expressly denied pardon relating to either world, and to the latter pardon is promised only indeterminate, and so may be verified with pardoning in one life, though not in the other. And though Major and Minor were true, the consequence does not follow, according to rules of Logic, which prescribe that where all the premises are particulars (such as those of that Syllogism) the conclusion is not convincing, as in this Syllogism—A man speaks: Peter is a man, therefore Peter speaks.

Mr. *I. S.* produces another argument, upon the same text, of a strange contexture. It is evident, says he, out of this text, that as Blasphemy against the Spirit is unpardonable, so all other sins are pardonable; but a Blasphemy against the Spirit is unpardonable in this world, and in the future; therefore other sins are pardonable in both. The Major of this Syllogism is false; *first*, since it will have an adequate parity in both cases relating to the places of pardon; for which there is no ground in the text, as declared above respecting the Major of the former Syllogism. Secondly, in assuming that all other sins are pardonable; for which also there is no ground in the text: for whereas from a particular premise an Universal Conclusion may not be deduced, by saying, that a sin against the Holy Ghost is not pardonable, it does not follow by any rule of Faith or Logic, that all other sins are pardonable; for though that occasion required to speak only of a sin against the Holy Ghost, it is possible, that another sin may be likewise unpardonable; and I can depose, that I saw defended in a famous public disputation, wherein I had a share myself, that a sin essentially unpardonable is possible, and *that* distinct from a sin against the Holy Ghost.

But to make the matter clearer by an example, I will exhibit the frame and force of your Syllogism in another of the same figure thus:—As the King punishes rebels, so he favours his Loyal subjects: he denies to every rebel places of trust and honour in all his dominions; therefore he allows to every Loyal subject places of trust and honour in all his dominions. If you do not think this consequence to be legitimate, give us leave to think the same of your former consequence, for they are both of the same texture. But while you do not shew your doctrine of

Purgatory to be built upon firmer grounds than such subtleties as these; think not to force it upon us, nor that because you have been possessors of it many years (as you say) we will allow you therefore to be *bonæ fidei possessores*, or that you possess it with a good conscience.

And whereas the aforementioned text (Matt. xii. 32.) is in such great repute with you for the present purpose, that you declare with Bellarmine it is the only text wherewith St. Bernard endeavoured to prove a Purgatory—I will shew further by a special doctrine of a great Father of the Church, how inconsequent is the existence of a Purgatory to the correct interpretation of that text. The good reception which you gave to a subtilty of the Schoolmen, produced for solving your argument out of the book of Maccabees, in the Chapter preceding, encourages me to hope that you may give a similarly kind reception to another subtilty of a learned and ancient Father of the Church, for answering this other argument out of Matt. xii. In the IXth. Chapter of the book of Joshua, we find that the inhabitants of Gibeon, hearing of victorious Joshua's approach, and the rigor with which he treated the conquered places near them, came unto him as if they had been Ambassadors sent from foreign countries to solicit his amity. They came in old clothes with clouted shoes upon their feet, their bread mouldy, and wine bottles old and rent, as if by all they would signify the tediousness of the journey which they had undergone; and by these means they obtained from Joshua and the Princes of Israel, a promise of safety and freedom. But after three days march the Israelites discovered those Gibeonites who feigned to have come from a foreign country were inhabitants of that land in which they were, and complained to Joshua of the fraud put upon him; but he not to infringe the oath which he had made, would not consent to destroy them, but punished their fraud with a mark of infamy, ordaining that they should be hewers of wood, and drawers of water to all the congregation. Upon which passage Origen delivers this Gloss—that Joshua being a Type of our Saviour Christ, and Palestine the promised Land, a Symbol of heavenly bliss; to let people live in that Land under a brand of infamy, signifies that some may enter with some blemish into the joys of Heaven. His words are

remarkable, as follows:—*In domo patris mei mansiones multæ sunt,* John xiv. 2.; *et multæ differentiæ eorum quæ ad salutem veniunt, unde et Gabaonitas arbitror portiunculam quandam eorum esse qui salvandi sunt, sed non sine nota alicujus infamiæ**—*In my Father's house are many mansions,* John xiv. 2.; *many are the differences of those who attain salvation; wherefore I conceive the Gibeonites to be a small portion of those who are to be saved, but not without some mark of infamy.* And a little after he adds these words, *Sunt enim in Ecclesiâ credentes quidam et acquiescentes divinis præceptis, erga servos Dei officiosi, et religiosi, et ad ornatum Ecclesiæ vel ministerii satis prompti, sed in conversatione propriâ impuri, obscœni et vitiis involuti, nec omnino deponentes veterem hominem cum actibus suis: Istis ergo* Christus Jesus *salutem concedit, sed quandam infamiæ notam non evadunt—There are in the Church some believers and honorers of his servants, and ready to contribute towards the decency of his service in the Church; but in their private life impure and implicated in vice, not putting off altogether the old man with his deeds. To these therefore* Christ Jesus *allows salvation, but they escape not a certain mark of infamy.* According to this doctrine of *Origen,* some may depart this life in a state of salvation, and be received into heavenly bliss, though with some blemishes of smaller guilt, not inconsistent with God's amity, but occasioning a decrease in their degree of glory; and therefore capable of a pardon of such blemishes or imperfections even in Heaven: If so, your text mentioning a pardon of sins in the other life does not prove the existence of a Purgatory.

If you shall reply that *Origen* has erred herein, as I conceive you will, then first consider it not a scandal to say that some one or other of the ancient Fathers may have erred. Secondly, acknowledge therein a fault of your Church, in making choice of the beforecited words of *Origen* for a Gloss ordinary upon the abovementioned passage of *Joshua* with the Gibeonites, and conclude from all, that this subtilty which clearly solves your strongest argument in favour of Purgatory out of the New

* Origen *Hom. X. in Josuam;* [tom. 2. p. 423. edit. 1733.]

Testament, is no invention of mine; but a doctrine of a very learned Father of the ancient Church approved and received by you moderns with so public a qualification, as to take it for an ordinary Gloss upon the beforementioned passage of Scripture.*

* This chapter it must be admitted is unsatisfactory and less substantial than most of the others in this volume. The Hammersmith Discussion, the publication of which is just completed, will amply repay a perusal, and supply Dr. Sall's deficiencies.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*The attempt of our Adversary to make the Doctrine of Purgatory an article of the Apostles' Creed, shewn to be vain.*

Mr. *I. S.* makes sure account that he has found Purgatory in the Apostles' Creed, where it is said [of our Lord] that *He descended into Hell.* But what if it should appear that those words were not in the Apostles' Creed from the beginning, and that the first time and place they were used in it, was in the Church of *Aquileia* some 400 years after Christ; that they are not expressed in those Creeds which were drawn up by the Councils, as larger interpretations of the Apostles' Creed; not in the *Nicene* or *Constantinopolitan*, not in that of *Ephesus* or *Chalcedon*, not in those Confessions made at *Sardica*, *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Sirmium;* not in the Creed expounded by St. Austin, *de fide et Symbolo.* And Ruffinus states, that in his time it was neither in the Roman nor Oriental Creeds. *Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Symbolo non habetur, additum* descendit ad inferna; *sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo—It is certain, that the article of the descent into Hell was not in the Roman, nor any of the Oriental Creeds.** It is not mentioned in several Confessions of Faith delivered by particular persons; not in that of *Eusebius Cæsariensis* presented to the Council of *Nice*, not in that of *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* delivered to Pope Julius, nor in that of *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* delivered to the Synod of *Seleucia*, nor in others mentioned by the learned Bishop of *Chester*, Dr. *Pearson*, in his grave and judicious Exposition of the Creed,† when writing upon the fifth article of it. I am persuaded this will appear strange to you; and though sufficient to weaken the force of your argument grounded upon the aforesaid words of the Creed, my answer will not rely upon it.

* Ruffin. *in Expositione Symboli* [§. 20.]

† Page 372, edit. Lond. 1824.

I allow the said words to belong to the Catholic Creed received for a long time in the Church, and embraced by that of England.

But I deny your inference from those words of the Creed in favour of your doctrine of Purgatory to be pertinent. *He descended into Hell:* I believe he did. But not into the Hell of the damned, say you; *for all Christians abhor the Blasphemy of Calvin, who says that Christ's soul suffered the pains of the damned.* What then? Therefore he descended into Purgatory. I am sure the more learned and pious men of your Communion will abhor this consequence. I never heard any of them say that *that* descent of Christ was to Purgatory. *First*, because under the notion of Hell they never understood Purgatory. *Secondly*, if you mean that he descended thither suffering the pains of that place, it is no less blasphemous than what you call Blasphemy in Calvin;* for if we believe your authors, the pains of Purgatory are the same with those of Hell, and inflicted by the same Ministers of Divine Justice, who punish the damned souls in Hell. If you say that he descended thither triumphant and glorious without suffering the pains of that place, for purposes of Divine Providence not manifested to us; you may say without any Blasphemy, that he descended in the same manner into the Hell of the damned triumphant and victorious, without prejudice to his glory and honour: as the Divinity of Christ is there still without prejudice to his glory, why may not his soul be there for a short time with the same immunity, and to the same purpose of triumphing over Hell and his enemies? And the words of the Creed being capable of this Exposition more literal and obvious, what need is there of your new invention of Purgatory unknown to Primitive Christianity, for the right understanding of that article of our Creed? †

* [*Institutt.* lib. 2. cap. 16. §. 10. See Bp. Pearson (ut supra) p. 381.]

† The 1 Pet. iii. 19. is sometimes adduced to countenance the now Romish doctrine of Purgatory. But "seeing it was the Spirit of Christ which spake in the Prophets, as St. Peter sheweth in the same Epistle, and among them was *Noah, a Preacher of Righteousness*, as he declareth in the next, even as in St. Paul, Christ is said to have come and preached to the Ephesians, namely, by his Spirit in the mouth of his Apostles; so likewise in St. Peter may he be said to have *gone and preached* to the old world by his Spirit in the mouth of his Prophets, and of Noah in particular." Archbishop. Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. VIII.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *How weak is the foundation of the grand engine of Indulgences in the Roman Church.*

When first I came to examine the grounds for the doctrine of *Indulgence* used in the Roman Church, I confess I was astonished to find how little support they could shew from the fountains of Divine faith for this mystery of the Romish belief, of such great boast and so much use among them. I thought it a strong negative argument against such a doctrine, that it was not contained in the word of God; that two such distinguished champions of the Roman Church, as *Cajetan* and *Suarez*, both employed by public authority to defend this doctrine, should not meet with any convincing testimony for it in holy Scripture, as both plainly confess. Both examine the two chief testimonies alleged for this doctrine, the *first*, out of John xx. 23, *Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted to them;* the *second* out of Matt. xviii. 18, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven:* and both acknowledge them not to prove the doctrine of Indulgences as now practised in the Roman Church.

*Cajetan* (*tom.* 1. *opusc. tract.* 8. q. 4,) says, that the before-cited testimonies are without doubt to be understood of a remission to be given by way of Sacraments, not of the remission of pains in the other life, as the Pope practises in the granting of Indulgences, and finally assigns, as the only reason, the authority of the Church and of Pope *Leo*, then governing; which he tells us must suffice, though no other reason should appear, in these remarkable words:*—*Absque hæsitatione aliquâ etiamsi nulla adesset ratio fatendum est dicti Thesauri dispensationem non solùm per Sacramenta, quoad merita Christi, sed aliter quam per Sacramenta, quoad merita Christi et Sanctorum, commissam esse Prælatis Ecclesiæ, et præcipuè Papæ; et hoc tanto*

* Page 95, edit. Lugduni, 1558.

*magis fatendum est quanto per* Leonem decimum *determinatum est—We must admit without any hesitation (though there appear no reason for it) that the dispersing of the treasure of the Church not only by way of Sacraments as to the merits of Christ, but otherwise than by Sacraments, as to the merits of Christ and the Saints, is committed to the Prelates of the Church and especially to the Pope. And this is so much the more to be confessed, because it has been so determined by Leo X.* A very special reason to convince Luther, and the rest of the world, who do not believe the Pope to be Infallible!

*Suarez (tom. 4. in 3. partem, disp. 49. sect. 1.)* delivers his opinion of the aforesaid testimonies of Scripture, viz., that they are insufficient to prove the doctrine of Indulgences. Of that of John XX. he says the same as *Cajetan* abovementioned. Of the other respecting the power of binding and loosing (Matt. xviii. 18) he declares the literal sense of those words to be the power of binding by laws and censures, and of absolving from censures and dispensing in laws. And finally, in number 17 of the same section, he concludes, that there is no passage in the Gospels, whence the giving of this power may be inferred, if it be not John xxi. 16, where our Saviour said to Peter, *Feed my sheep;* in which words Suarez pretends that the power Universal, and Supremacy over all the Church has been assigned to St. Peter, and that under that Universality the power of Indulgences has been bestowed upon him. But as St. *Peter* never received such an Universal power over the Church, as the Bishops of Rome do now usurp, so did he never pretend it, nor ever troubled Thomas in India, or Andrew in Achaia, or James in Jerusalem, nor any other of his fellow Apostles and Bishops, in their respective Provinces, concerning power over them or a dependance of them upon him; all and each one of them complying faithfully with their Ministry, without encroaching one upon the other, nor staining the credit of Christian holiness with the profane spirit of ambition which in Rome at last grew, to the confusion and distraction of Christendom.

But even if such a Supremacy had been granted to the Pope, and to the succeeding Bishops of Rome, Suarez must travel far for a consequence of the doctrine of Indulgences to be inferred from such a grant. If the power of dispensing those immense

treasures of the merits of Christ and all Saints was given to St. Peter in those words of our Saviour, commending to him the feeding of his Sheep, how came he and the other succeeding Bishops of Rome for so many ages to neglect the *use* of this power for the benefit of souls, and the great advantage of the Roman Church, as is now practised?

Suarez easily perceived the weakness of his argument from this testimony, and therefore betook himself, in the second section following, to the common refuge—the use and authority of the Church. That there is such a use, says he, is not denied; we see it. That it is not an abuse, but a lawful use, is proved, *first*, by the authority of the Council of Trent (last Session) where is added, that this use has been approved by the authority of sacred Councils; for which purpose it is customary to quote the Council of *Nice*,* (can. 11.), of *Carthage* (4. 75.), of *Neocæsarea* (ch. 3.), of *Laodicea* (can. 1, 2.); but in these Councils, says *Suarez*, *we only find that it was lawful for Bishops to remit some of the public Penances enjoined by Canons for divers crimes; but that such a remission should be extended to a pardon of Penalties due in the tribunal of God cannot be inferred from those Councils.*

Another main argument for the Antiquity of Indulgences they derive from 2 Cor. 11. 10, where St. *Paul* remits a part of the Penalty due to an incestuous person whom he had formerly punished, saying, *To whom you forgive any thing, I forgive also; for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ.*

From these latter words, *in the person of Christ*, they pretend to infer, that the practice of Indulgences, as now used in the Roman Church had its beginning from Christ, and that St. *Paul* practised it, on the occasion now mentioned, by authority received from Christ. This argument Suarez proposes in the abovemen-

* Apud Concill. studio Labbei tom. 2, col. 48; col. 1205, &c.—these references are made (with others) in the Notes added to some editions of the Council of Trent, *Sess.* 25. *contin.* iv. Decemb.—but what connexion these Canons have, or what support it can be imagined that they render to the Indulgences of the modern Church of Rome, we must leave others to discover.

The Canons of the Council at Neocæsarea are given in Dr. Routh's *Reliquiæ sacræ*, vol. 3, p. 457.

tioned second Section, num. 3; but from the following fourth Number to the 11th. he does most vigorously prove the inefficacy of that argument:—That the remission granted by St. Paul to that incestuous man, only related to an exterior Penalty due by course or Canon of Ecclesiastical Government, not to Penalties of the other life depending from Divine Justice; that the words—*in the person of Christ* only proves it to be an act of jurisdiction or power received from Christ, which may be sufficiently verified by a remission of an exterior temporal penalty due by the common course of Ecclesiastical human power; and finally, concludes, that there is no warrantable history or testimony extant, from which it can be clearly evinced, that the use of Indulgences as now practised in the Roman Church was known before the times of Gregory the Great, of whom he states it is reported that he gave a Plenary Indulgence; *though, even of this,* says Suarez, *I find no* written *history, but a public report in Rome, and other places.*

And finally, the only thing which Suarez can with confidence affirm, is that this practice is now in use in the Church, so that they are reputed as Heretics who reprehend such a custom, and it is impossible that the Universal Church should err herein; for that, says he, would be an intollerable moral error in practice. If the Universal Church, indeed, usually practised now, and always, from the beginning, and in all places, [had practised] this custom, according to the rules of Apostolic lawful Tradition delivered by *Lyra* and *St. Augustine (l.* 4, *de Baptismo, cap.* 24*)* we would look upon this argument as of some force. But *Suarez* himself acknowledges and confesses, that this practice is neither so ancient, nor universal: And therefore it must not be looked upon as an Apostolic Tradition, but ranked among the modern institutions of the present Romish Church, to stand or fall with the authority of it; and that we have sufficiently proved not to be infallible.

And by this (Reader) you may perceive, how rashly Mr. *I. S.* asserts that it was a most false averment of mine, that *Suarez* is not so certain, whether the power of absolving given to the Church, extended to the profuse grant of Indulgences practised at present by the Roman Church. Let the learned Reader reflect upon Suarez's discussion of this subject in the passage before-

mentioned, and he shall find how far he is from any certainty that this doctrine is grounded upon Scripture or Primitive Antiquity; but shall find that he merely believes it, as *Scotus* did that of Transubstantiation, *Non propter rationes quæ non cogunt—not on account of arguments alleged for it, which are not convincing, but for* THE AUTHORITY OF HIS CHURCH.

And mark, Reader, that such great men as *Cajetan* and *Suarez* after having been employed by public authority in defending this doctrine; after bestowing all their learning, and no small labour in procuring its establishment, we find at last confessing, that they have nothing to allege seriously in its favour, but what the Collier alleged for his faith, viz., that he believed as the Church believes!* And here, also, they mistake the true notion of the Church and its authority; a mistake, in truth, more tolerable in a Collier, than in men of the learning and reputation of *Cajetan* and *Suarez*. But such is the condition of their cause, that it could not be defended better; and such was their engagement, that they must defend it by right or wrong.

I conceive that my antagonist may complain that I am neglecting him in this Chapter, and I confess freely that I delight more in dealing with people of the learning and ingenuity which I find in *Cajetan* and *Suarez*, than with Mr. *I. S.*; but inasmuch as we are debtors to all, I will give a turn to him also upon this subject, and it shall be in the next Chapter.

* This sentiment attributed to a simple rustic, who assigned as the ground of his faith that *he believed what the Church believed, and the Church believed what he himself held*, was first broached by Frederic Staphylus, Professor of Theology at Konigsberg, about A.D. 1550; and has been immortalized by Bellarmine: see Note on *Staphylus* in Allport's *Translation of Davenant on the Colossians*, Vol. 1., p. 354.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*The unhappy success of Mr.* I. S.'s *great boast of skill in History, relative to the Antiquity of Indulgences, discovered.*

In the 90th page of my former discourse,* when speaking of the Antiquity of Indulgences, I mentioned, that the first notice which I had found of the grants of them, after the manner now in use, is that of Gregory VII. given to those of his party who were willing to fight against the Emperor Henry III. (by error of the Printer Henry IV.) in the year 1084, which Baronius relates from his Penitentiary; in which was promised remission of all their sins, to those who would venture their lives in that holy war: for which I quoted Baronius's Annals upon the aforesaid year, 1084, *num.* 15. Here Mr. *I. S.* enters in triumph, and declares (p. 264 of *the Unerring and Unerrable Church)* that if I have no more skill in Divinity, or moral Theology, than I seem to have in History, I am but a fresh-water scholar. As for Controversy, says he, my Treatise shews well what I know of it. Be it so, sir; let me have truth on my side, as I hope it will appear to be by this Treatise, and make you much of your skill. In the mean while let us examine, how much of it is exhibited on the present point of History, wherein you pretend to be most magisterial.

First, you mistake most absurdly the state of the question, as is usual with you, and where I am speaking of Indulgences *given by* Gregory *the Seventh*, to those of his party who were willing to fight against the Emperor Henry *the Third*, you report such Indulgences to have been given by the said *Gregory* to *Henry*, to encourage him and the Christians to war against the *Saracens*. Any one who will read the History of that *Gregory*, and his fierce persecution of the said Emperor to the end of his life, even as his own Historians—*Platina* and *Baronius*, who are biassed in his favour, report, will more easily believe that *Gregory* would have favoured the *Turk* against *Henry*, than uphold *Henry*

* See p. 58 of the present Volume.

against any adversary. If ever you had any acquaintance with the History of Pope *Hildebrand* or *Gregory VIIth*, how could you fall into so ridiculous a blunder, as to imagine him granting Indulgences in favour of the Emperor *Henry* III.? If ever you read my Discourse speaking expressly of an Indulgence granted to those who would fight against the Emperor, how come you to pervert the narrative so absurdly, as to fancy that I was speaking of an Indulgence given in *favour* of that Emperor?

You assert that neither the Indulgence, to which I alluded, nor any other for any such purpose, was granted by *Gregory VIIth*, but by *Urban II.* Read the passage of *Baronius*, which I quoted, upon the year 1084, *numb.* 15, and there you shall find *Gregory VII.* employing *Anselm*, Bishop of *Lucca*, to publish Indulgences to all those who would fight in his quarrel against the Emperor *Henry III.* And continuing your strange equivocations, you speak of Indulgences given by *Urban II.* to the same *Henry III.;* but it was not to him that he gave them, but to *Alexius*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, as *Baronius* relates at the year 1095, *numb.* 3.* You mention Indulgences granted by *Leo III.*, anno 847; but it was not *Leo III.* but *Leo IV.* who was then reigning, and when *Suarez* can discover neither him, nor any other, giving Indulgences of so ancient a date, sure I am that *you* never found them upon any creditable authority.

To one notice of Indulgences I will help you out of *Baronius*, preceding that which I mentioned of *Gregory VII.* given to those who would fight against the Emperor *Henry III.* in the same year 1084; which I allow you to take for the genuine origin of your present practice of Indulgences, granted by profane Cardinals, creatures of Pope Guibert, called *Clement* III., Competitor of *Gregory* VII.; of which description of Cardinals, *Baronius* in the year before mentioned, *numb.* 9, gives this account:†—

* If we do not misunderstand the Chapter of Baronius, to which Dr. Sall refers, the mistake, in this case, lies on his side. We cannot find any mention of Indulgences here; but in the same year an Indulgence was granted, by way of pay to the Crusaders, by Urban II., at the Council of *Clermont*, can. 2—"quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam Ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur." *Concill. Gen. studio Labbei;* tom x. col. 507.

† Not Baronius himself, but an author quoted by him.

*Erant enim cives Romani Uxorati, sive Concubinarii,* barbarasi et Mitrati, peregrinis oratoribus, præcipue vero multitudini rusticanæ* Longobardorum *mentientes, asserentes se Cardinales Presbyteros esse, quique oblationibus receptis Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum usu nefario impudenter præstabant: hi et occasione custodiendæ Ecclesiæ consurgentes intempestæ noctis silentio intra et citra eandem Ecclesiam impunè homicidia, rapinas, varia stupra et diversa latrocinia exercebant—There were* (says he) Roman *Citizens, either married or retaining Concubines, shaven and wearing Mitres, imposing upon foreign Ambassadors, but especially upon the rude multitude of* Longobards, *that they were Presbyter Cardinals, and who, receiving offerings, impudently bestowed Indulgences and remission of all sins; these under pretext of defending the Church, rising in the deep silence of the night, committed within and about the Church, without hindrance, horrible murders, robberies, and divers sorts of whoredoms and enormities.*†

Who were the better Popes or the better men, *Guibert* ‡ and

* It seems to have been the custom in some places to allow a man to retain his wife upon payment of a certain sum—but it did not long suit the policy of the Church of Rome; and such married Priests were not only degradingly called '*Concubinarii*," but Councils protested against the allowance: "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt; patiendo eos in tali fæditate sordescere, sub pœna maledictionis æternæ præcepit [Concilium,] ne sub pacto; compositione, aut spe alicujus quæstus, deinceps talia quovis modo tolerent, aut dissimulent." *Concil. Suessionense* (Soissons) an 1436 apud. *Labbé*, tom xiii. col. 1309. But the practice was not abandoned in even later times, the Bishop's revenues being so much improved by it: vide Erasmi *de conscrib. litt. Operum, tom* 1, p. 363, Basileæ, 1540.

† During twenty-two years of the late reign (of Pius VI.) not less than 18,000 persons were *murdered* in public and private quarrels in the Ecclesiastical States alone, according to the Bills of Mortality in the Governor's office, where from every district a return was annually made. Duppa's Subversion of the Papal Government, p. 79, edit. 1807.

Mr. Dominus Baddeley, in his *Sure way to find out the true Religion*, sixth edition, Dublin, 1833, puts down the number of criminals in England, the robberies, the 3000 receivers of stolen goods, the prostitution in Town and Country, all to—the Protestant Religion; and hopes the *fruits* of the Catholic Religion are better," p. 46. Heigho!

‡ He died in 1100, and then three new anti-Popes started up in succession; but the reader must pursue the history of this united Church himself if he pleases: *Baron. an.* 1100 § 18.

his Cardinals, or *Hildebrand* and his, as I do not know, so I will not dispute; but conclude, that such Indulgences as these were given in Rome, by the relation of their own hired Historian; and then the reader will perceive how unhappy Mr. *I. S.* has been in his pretended triumph over me respecting this point of History.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Of the strange and absurd terms used in the grants of Indulgences, and the immoderate profuseness wherewith, and slight causes for which, they are granted.*

TRULY if we do but consider the absurd language used in the trade of Indulgences, and the vast and boundless profuseness exhibited in the grant of them for very slight causes,* of all which their most learned defenders confess that they are not able to give a rational account, we may with some good ground suspect that some such Lay-Cardinals as those mentioned in the preceding Chapter out of *Baronius*, granting Indulgences in *Rome*, were the authors and inventors of the present practice of Indulgences, and the terms of it used in the Roman Church.

First, they divide Indulgences into *total* and *partial*. A total

* In the Erernitane at *Padova*, their Preachers very solemnly publish a grant of Plenary Indulgence, from Baptism to the last Confession, with 28,000 years over, for the time ensuing. The pardon of Alexander VI. for 30,000 years to whosoever, before the Altar of our Lady, with Christ and her mother, shall say a peculiar AVE, importing that our Lady was conceived without sin, is printed anew in Italy, and pictured in fairest sort: but these are for short times. At the *Sepulchre* of Christ in *Venice*, a stately representation whereon is written, *hic situm est Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi*—yet inferring no real presence thereby as I take it—with verses annexed of *conditur hoc tumulo ;* there is hanging on a printed tablet a Prayer of *St. Austin*, a very good one indeed, with an Indulgence four score and two thousand years, granted from Boniface VIII., and confirmed by Benedict XI., to whosoever shall say it, and that for every day *toties quoties* ; which yet is somewhat worth, that in a few days a man may provide for a whole million of worlds, if they did last no longer than this has done hitherto. In *St. Francis's* Church at *Padova*, I heard a reverend Father preach at large the holy history of the Divine pardon of *Sisa, ab omni pœna et culpa*, granted by Christ in person at our Lady's suit, unto *St. Francis*, extended to all such as being confessed, and having communicated should pray in *St. Francis's* Church there of Sancta Maria *de gli Angeli ;* yet sending him for Order's sake, to his Vicar Pope *Honorius*, that then was to pass it, with many other re-apparitions and delectable strange accidents of solace and content, to the pleasant-minded believers; which pardon is since enlarged by Sixtus IV. and V. (who both were Franciscans) to all Lay-brethren and sisters that wear St. Francis's Cordon in what places soever. Sandy's *Survey of Religion*, pp. 15, 16, edit. 1687. See Christian Observer, 1840, p. 31, for modern Indulgences.

Indulgence is a full remission of all the temporal pains due to the man's sins committed. A partial Indulgence is a remission of a part of the penalties, according to the will of the person granting it. A *total Indulgence* is subdivided again into *plena*, *plenior*, et *plenissima*—a plenary or full, more full, and most full. Here the wits of the learned are strained* to find sense in these words, how one Indulgence that is plenary can be capable of these degrees of increase in regard of the same person. If by any plenary Indulgence, he has a *total* remission of all the penalties due to his sins, how can he have *more* total or full remission of them? *Suarez, (disp.* 1, *de effectu Indulgent. sect.* 4*)* perceiving no ground for these degrees, would fain give some sense to them by adducing a parallel case of the Virgin Mary, full of grace by the coming of the angel, more full by the coming of her Son, and most full in her death; but finding himself weary of such bare conjectures, he resolves that according to the present state there is no substantial difference, as to the effect in those gradations of plenary Indulgences, whatsoever was the meaning of those terms with the first authors of them, whereof at present there is no clear knowledge; and quotes *Sotus*, saying, that Preachers of Indulgences have introduced those gradations by way of exaggeration.

*Partial Indulgences* are likewise subdivided into *quadragena*, *septena*, *carena*, and the like. *Quadragena* they call an Indulgence of forty days; *septena*, of seven years; *carena*, composed of both the former, containing seven years and forty days. And now comes in a very perplexing difficulty that turns the brains of their ablest Divines: what to understand by these years and days of remission—whether so many years and days of the pains of

* Bishop Taylor has exhibited some portions of these exertions, very happily, in his *Dissuasive from Popery*, pt. 1, p. 73, (edit. Oxford, 1836.) The writers seem to have laboured in providing checks against the purchasers of Indulgences making *too much* of their bargains, and in starting endless doubts, without a very large purchase, of their possible invalidity in some particular. And therefore he concludes, "we cannot but commend the prudence of Cardinal Albernotius, who by his last will took order for 50,000 masses to be said for his soul; for he was a wise man, and loved to make all as sure as he could." Very true. In Dr. Lanigan's *Catechetical Conferences on Penance* (Dublin, printed for R. Coyne, 1836,) the interest of both Purgatory and Indulgences are attended to, so as always to keep the mark carefully.

Purgatory are to be remitted, as *Viguerius* conceived,* or so much time of Penance enjoined by the Canons for sins. And though this latter be the more received and common opinion, and approved by *Suarez* in the passage now mentioned, yet he finds so many difficulties in affixing a congruous sense to the so many thousand years allowed by Indulgences, and so little consistence in the reasons alleged by several authors, that he concludes, it is a matter obscure and unknown to us, and that we must rest upon the judgment of the Church which knows the meaning of those measures, concluding thus:—*Breviter vero assero, de re nobis incerta authores hos disputare, Ecclesiam vero uti illa mensura quæ sibi nota est—I say briefly, that these authors are quarrelling about a thing unknown to us, and that the Church uses herein that measure which is known to itself;* remitting those pains of Purgatory, which may be proportionable to the penalties of this life enjoined by Canons; and so leaves us as wise as we were before, for understanding what sense so many thousands of years can have, whether relating to the pains of Purgatory, or to penalties enjoined by Canons. But this is the style used and received in the Roman Church, and therefore we must maintain it, let it mean what it will, be it sense or nonsense. And that is all the account which *Suarez* can give us of it, after the trial of his own wit, and an examination of the Discourses of others, when at last he has to come to some determination!

Now to the cause for granting Indulgences, Mr. *I. S.* gives us occasion to say something; since he boasts that Indulgences are not granted so slightly as Protestant Ministers would make their flocks suppose. It is true that *Cajetan* teaches *(Opusc. de Indulgent. cap.* 8*)* that great Indulgences ought not to be given for small causes, and that there ought to be a proportion between the quality of the Indulgence, and the work performed to obtain it. But how can this consist with what *Cajetan* states there? that a plenary Indulgence is given to every one who stands in the

* Probably *John Viguier*, a Frenchman, born at Grenade, a small Town near Toulouse. He was considered an eminent writer in his day, and his *Institutiones ad naturalem et Christ. Philosophiam—doctt. Eccles., præsertim Aquinatis eruditione confirmatæ*, had, to use a modern phrase, quite a run, there having been numerous editions, at Paris 1549, Venice 1560, Antwerp 1565, &c. &c. See *Scriptores Ord. Prædicatt.* tom 2, p. 137.

Yard of *St. Peter's* Church, when the Pope gives his blessing to the people there on *Easter day*. Here he recurs to a mystery—that though to stand in that place be in itself of no great consideration, yet relating to the purpose of representing the members of the Church united under one head, it is of great importance, and proportionable to the Indulgence received. But what mystery shall we find to render decent that famous Indulgence granted by *Innocent III.* to all such as would marry public harlots? as *Spondanus* relates, in the year 1198.

Who would not suppose that so many loud and learned outcries made against the abuses of Indulgences in the Roman Church for more than 100 years, and the scandal and contempt of them which has arisen among the sober and judicious even of their own party, would not be a means to moderate at least the boundless profusion of those grants, feeding continually the hopes of sinners for a remission of all their crimes, and encouraging them to persevere in their wicked ways? But such is the unhappiness of that Church, and the dismal symptom of a disease being mortal, that it grows worse with remedies, and hates a cure. Setting aside numberless instances of their most absurd prodigalities of this description, wherewith many books are filled, I will here merely transcribe a copy of Indulgences granted by the present Pope Clement X., upon the occasion of canonizing certain new Saints, from which you may gain a full *idea* of the Romish corruptions in this respect.

*Formula Indulgentiarum,* cum quibus S. D. N.* Clemens *Papa X., Coronas, Rosaria, Cruces, sacrasque Imagines, et numismata Medallias vulgo nuncupata benedicit, per occasionem Canonizationis S. S. Confessorum* Cajetani, Francisci Borgiæ, Philippi Benitii, Ludovici Bertrandi, et Sanctæ Rosæ *Virginis* Peruanæ.†

Quicunque saltem semel in hebdomada Coronam Domini, vel Beatissimæ Virginis, aut Rosarium, ejusve tertiam partem, aut Officium Divinum vel parvum Beatissimæ Virginis, vel defunctorum, vel septem Psalmos pœnitentiales, vel graduales recitare, aut detentos in careere visitare, aut pauperibus subvenire, aut saltem horæ quadrante mentali orationi vacare consueverit, si confessus Sacerdoti ab Ordinario approbato sanctissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum sumpserit in quolibet ex diebus infra scriptis, piasque ad Deum preces fuderit pro hæresium extirpatione, fideique Catholicæ propagatione, aliisque sanctæ Ecclesiæ necessitatibus, plenariam suorum peccatorum Indulgentiam consequetur; nimirum die

* In an Appendix subjoined to the Apology for the Pulpits, published by Dr. Williams (afterwards Bishop of Chichester) in 1688, this formula appears in Italian; see *The Church of Rome's Traffic in Pardons substantiated*, London, 1839, p. 16.

† Batches of five seems to be the favourite number for elevating to Saintship, in the Latin Church—we have very recently published "*Lives of St. Alphonsus, Liguori, St. F. de Girolamo, St. John Joseph of the Cross, St. Pacificus of San Severino, and St. Veronica Giuliani*, whose canonization took place May 26, 1839, London, 1839."

The following are specimens of the Acts and Monuments attributed to some Canonized Saints:—St. Patrick, it is said, "was wont to repeat daily the *whole* Psalter, together with the Canticles and *two hundred* hymns and prayers, *three hundred* times on each day to worship God upon his knees, and in each canonical hour of the day to *sign himself* one hundred times with the sign of the Cross, dividing the night into three portions, he spent the first, in *running through one hundred* Psalms, and in *two hundred* genuflections; the second, in running through the other fifty Psalms, *immersed in cold water*, and with his *heart, eyes*, and *hands* raised to heaven; he yielded the third part to a short sleep upon a *hard stone*. S. Patritius. Breviarium Romanum, die XVII. Martii, p. 437.

St. Rosa, of Lima:—"Having assumed the habit of the tertian Order of St. Dominic, she doubled the former austerities of her life; she interwove small needles in an oblong and very rough hair cloth; she wore, by day and by night, a *crown*, armed with numerous little sharp points. Treading in the arduous footsteps of St. Catharine, she bound her loins with an iron chain thrice wound round her; she made for herself a bed of knotty pieces of wood, and she filled the open seams with fragments of earthen vessels; she constructed for herself a very narrow cell in an extreme corner of the garden, where, abandoned to

Testo Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniæ, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, Sanctissimæ Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, et die Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Præsentationis, Visitationis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumtionis beatissimæ Virginis, tum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Sanctorum modo Canonizatorum, omnium Sanctorum, dedicationis propriæ Ecclesiæ et ejusdem Patroni vel Tituli.

Quisquis in vigilia cujuslibet istorum sanctorum jejunaverit, et confessus in ipsius Testo Sanctissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum sumserit, oraveritque Deum, ut supra dictum est, toties Indulgentiam plenariam consequetur. Quicunque Missam celebrarit, vel confessus, et sacrâ Communione refectus interfuerit Missæ ad Altare, in quo Imago aut Corpus aut reliquiæ cujuslibet prædictorum quinque Sanctorum asservantur, pieque Deum oraverint, ut dictum est, die uno quem voluerit cujuslibet Mensis plenariam Indulgentiam lucretur.

Quisquis vero pœnitens peccata commissa emendare firmiter proposuerit, et eadem die visitaverit septem Ecclesias quaslibet, et ubi tot

heavenly contemplation, she fearlessly overthrew and subdued, victorious in manifold contests, the spirits of devils, extenuating her body with frequent discipline, with abstinence and with watchings, but nourished by the Spirit." Brev. Rom. Pars Æstiva. Lectio V., p. 570.

St. Francis Xavier:—"Under this master, in a short time he made such a progress, that, absorbed in the contemplation of Divine things, he was sometimes *lifted on high from the earth*, which several times happened to him when sacrificing before the multitude of the people." Pars Hiemalis. Die iii. Decembris. In festo S. Francisci Xavierii Confessoris.

St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi. "She burned with so great a fire of Divine love, that, being unequal to bear it, they were compelled *to cool her breast with water*, WHICH WAS THROWN UPON IT—*Tanto igne divini amoris æstuabat, ut ei ferendo impar, ingesta aqua pectus refrigerare cogerentur.*" Pars Verna, Die xxv. Maii S. Mariæ Magdalenæ de Pazzi Virg. Lectio V.

St. Philip of Neri:—"And his heart WORKED WITH SO GREAT VIOLENCE, that when it could NOT BE CONTAINED IN ITS PROPER LIMITS, the Lord wonderfully ENLARGED his breast, TWO OF HIS RIBS BEING BROKEN AND TAKEN OUT. But when he was performing the Sacrament, or more fervently praying, sometimes being taken up into the air, he was seen to shine on all sides with a marvellous light—*Tantoque cor ejus æstuabat ardore, ut cum intra fines suos contineri non posset, illius sinum, confractis atque elatis duabus costulis, mirabiliter Dominus ampliaret. Sacrum vero faciens aut ferventius orans, in aera quandoque sublatus, mira undique luce fulgere visus est.*" Die xxvi. Maii. In festo Sancti Philippi Confessoris, Lectio V.—My Roman Catholic brethren, said Mr. Maguire, your priests are *obliged* to devote a certain portion of *every* day to the perusal of such stories as I have now read for you.

For the preceding examples we are indebted to the Rev. J. H. Maguire of St. Helens, Lancashire, from Lectures delivered by him at St. Helens.

Ecclesiæ non reperiuntur, quotquot ibi sint, et si unica, tantum Ecclesia sit in loco, omnia ipsius altaria, et pro hæresium extirpatione, &c. pie Deum oraverit semel in anno, fruatur Indulgentiis concessis septem urbis Ecclesias visitantibus.

Quicunque devotè cogitaverit de aliquo sanctissimæ passionis D. N. Jesu Christi mysterio, et in ejusdem passionis honorem septies terram deosculatus fuerit eo die, lucretur Indulgentias concessas ascendentibus *Romæ* per scalam sanctam; hoc autem semel in singulis annis.

Quisquis prædictorum quinque sanctorum imitatione vel peccata sua vere detestabitur, cum firmo proposito non peccandi de cetero, vel actum aliquem virtutis exercebit, toties lucretur Indulgentiam septem annorum et totidem quadragena.

Quisquis leget aliquod libri caput de vitâ eorundem Sanctorum, aut invisitet eorum altare, vel imaginem venerabitur, et oraverit pro felici statu Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ peccatorumque conversione, singulis vicibus percipiet Indulgentiam centum dierum.

Eandem pariter consequatur qui aliquid pauperibus tribuet, vel eosdem instruet, aut per alios instrui curabit in iis quæ pertinent ad finem bonosque mores.

Quisquis in Sanctissimæ Eucharistiæ cultu vel Beatissimæ Virginis se exercebit, meditans illius mysterii dignitatem, quantaque ex eo ad nos beneficia manant, aut commiserans ejusdem Beatæ Viginis dolores, quibus in passione et morte filii affecta fuit, vel alia qualibet ratione Sanctissimum Sacramentum venerabitur, et pro necessitatibus Ecclesiæ orabit; toties Indulgentiam centum dierum consequatur.

Quilibet in urbe commorans, vel ab ea ultra viginti milliaria non absens, si legitimè impeditus non interfuerit Benedictioni qua Romanus Pontifex in Festo Paschatis, et Ascensionis solemniter benedicere consuevit; confessus autem Sacrosancta Communione reficiatur, et pias ad Deum preces pro hæresium extirpatione, &c. fuderit, Indulgentiis fruatur quibus præsentes fruuntur; eadem vero si adimpleverint longius ab urbe distantes, easdem Indulgentias etiam si legitime non impediti consequantur.

Omnes supradictæ Indulgentiæ fidelibus defunctis applicari possunt per modum suffragii.

Pro iisdem percipiendis satis est privatim habere apud se aliquam coronam vel crucem, &c. cum prædictis Indulgentiis à Sanctitate suâ benedictam, et quæ superius præscripta sint adimplere, licet illa etiam alio nomine impleri forte debuerint.

Quisquis in articulo mortis se totum Deo commendans prædictos

Sanctos vel ex iis unum invocarit, ore, si potuerit, sin minus saltem corde, confessus sacraque Communione refectus si potuerit, alioquin saltem contritus, plenariam omnium peccatorum Indulgentiam consequetur.

In distribuendis hujusmodi Coronis, Crucibus, earumque usu, Sanctissimus servari jubet decretum. Fel. record. *Alexandri* VII. editum sub die sexto Februarii 1657, nimirum ut Coronæ, Cruces, Rosaria, Numismata, quæ vulgo Medalliæ nuncupantur, et sacræ Imagines cum præfatis Indulgentiis benedictæ non transeant personam illorum quibus à sanctitate suâ concessæ sunt, aut quibus ab his primâ vice distribuentur, neque commodari aut precario dari possunt, alioquin Indulgentiis jam concessis, et aliqua re ex prædictis deperdita, pro eo subrogari altera nullo modo potest quacunque concessione, aut privilegio in contrarium non obstante,

Prohibet Sanctitas sua hanc Indulgentiam

Imprimi extra Urbem.

Michael Angelius Riccius, Secret.

Romæ *ex Typographia Rev.*

*Cameriæ* Apost. 1671.

[THUS TRANSLATED.]

*A Form of Indulgences, wherewith our holy Father Pope* Clement X. *blessed Crowns, Rosaries, Crosses, sacred Images and Medals, or by occasion of canonizing the holy Confessors,* Gaetano, Francesco Borgia, Filippo Benizio, Lodovico, Bertrando, *and* Santa Rosa, *a Peruvian Virgin.*

Whosoever shall be in the habit, at least once a year, of saying the Crown of our Lord, or of the Blessed Virgin, or her Rosary, or the third part of it, or the Divine Office, or the little Office of the Blessed Virgin, or of the dead, or the seven Penitential Psalms, or the Gradual Psalms, or to visit Prisoners, or relieve the Poor, or spend at least a quarter of an hour in mental Prayer; if he confesses to a Priest approved by the Ordinary, and receive the holy Communion on any of the days below mentioned, and shall pray to God for extirpation of Heresies, the Propagation of Catholic Faith, and for other necessities of the Roman Church, shall obtain a plenary Indulgence of all his sins; viz., in the day

of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, his Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Ascension, the day of Pentecost, Holy Trinity, and *Corpus Christi;* and the day of the Conception, Nativity, Presentation, Visitation, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the day of the Nativity of St. *John Baptist*, of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, of the five Saints now canonized, of all Saints, of the dedication of his own Church, and of the Patron or title of it.*

Whosoever shall confess and receive on the Vigil of any of the aforesaid Saints, and shall pray to God as aforesaid, shall obtain plenary Indulgence as often as he doth it.

Whosoever shall say Mass, or having confessed and received, shall hear Mass at an altar, in which the Image, or Body, or Relique of any of the aforesaid five Saints are kept, and shall pray to God, as aforesaid, on any one day which he pleases of any month, gains a plenary Indulgence.

Whosoever, being truly penitent, shall firmly purpose to forsake his sins committed, and in the same day will visit any seven Churches, or, where so many Churches are not to be found, shall visit those that are; and if there be but one Church in the place, shall visit all the altars of it, and pray to God for the extirpation of Heresies once a year, shall enjoy the Indulgences allowed to such as visit the seven Churches at Rome.

Whosoever shall think devoutly of any mystery of the Passion of our Saviour, and in honour of the said Passion shall kiss seven times the ground, will in that day obtain the Indulgences allowed to such as mount the holy stairs in *Rome;* but this once in every year.

Whosoever in imitation of the aforesaid five Saints, either shall truly detest his sins with a firm purpose of sinning no more; or shall exercise some act of virtue, shall so many times obtain an Indulgence of seven years, and so many quadragenas or forty days Indulgence.

Whosoever shall read any Chapter of the Life of the said Saints, or shall visit their Altar, or worship their Image, and pray for the happy state of our holy Mother the Church, and for the conversion of sinners, shall at every time obtain Indulgence of 100 days.

* See Bingham's Antiquities, VIII. i. 10.

The same Indulgence shall any obtain, who will give any alms to the poor, or shall instruct them by himself or by another in things pertaining to Faith and good manners.

Whosoever shall exercise himself in the worship of the holy Eucharist, or of the Blessed Virgin, meditating upon the dignity of that mystery, and the benefits redounding from it to us, or commiserating the griefs of the said Blessed Virgin wherewith she was possessed at the Passion and Death of her son, or in any other manner shall reverence the blessed Sacrament, and pray for the necessities of the Church, shall obtain Indulgence of 100 days as often as he does it.

Any person dwelling in *Rome*, or not distant from it above twenty miles, if he has a lawful impediment to his being present at the solemn blessing, which the Roman Pope is wont to give on the Festivity of Easter and Ascension, but shall confess and receive, and pray for the extirpation of Heresies, &c. shall enjoy the Indulgences which those present will enjoy; but such as are farther distant from *Rome*, shall enjoy the same Indulgences on performing the said duties, though they have no lawful impediment for absence.

All the Indulgences aforesaid may be applied to the Faithful deceased by way of suffrage.

In order to obtain the said Indulgences it is sufficient to have privately with you any Crown or Cross, &c. blessed by his Holiness with the aforesaid Indulgences, and to fulfil the duties beforementioned, even though haply you may be obliged to perform them upon another account.

Whosoever at the point of death commending himself to God, shall invoke the aforesaid Saints, or any of them with his mouth, if he can, or having confessed and received the Communion, if he may; or any how, being at least contrite, shall obtain a plenary Indulgence of all his sins.

In the distribution of the said Crowns, Crosses, &c. and in the use of them, his Holiness commands that the decree of *Alexander* VII. issued the 6th day of *February*, 1657, be observed, viz., that Crowns, Crosses, Rosaries, Medals and sacred Images blessed with the aforesaid Indulgences, may not pass from the persons of those to whom his Holiness has granted them, or such as from them receive those things the first time, and that they

must not be lent or be bestowed; otherwise to lose the Indulgences; and any of them being lost, no other can be substituted for it by any means, notwithstanding any allowance or privilege to the contrary.

His Holiness prohibits this Form of Indulgences to be printed out of *Rome.*

Michael Angelus Riccius, Secret.

Rome, from the Press of the Reverend Apostolical Chamber, 1671.

I leave it to the judicious reader to reflect upon this grant and the profuseness of it, and to consider whether it be a rare or difficult thing to gain a plenary Indulgence where grants of this kind are so frequent. They will tell us that it promotes piety to have such encouragements to penitence, prayers, and deeds of charity. But let them consider whether it may not rather become an occasion of continuing in vice, and a wicked life, if, by a verbal confession and an imperfect kind of contrition, or from displeasure with sins, or the penalties following them (which are apt to be entertained by the most wicked livers) a security is given of remission of all sins, though ever so grievous and repeated, and of the eternal pains due to them; and if likewise all the temporal penalties following them, are remitted by a plenary Indulgence, thus easy to be obtained as we have seen, who will not perceive that encouragement is given thereby to persevere in vice; whatsoever other intentions they may have who grant them? And if this be well considered Mr. *I. S.* will cease to wonder that Protestant Doctors should accuse the Roman Church of facilitating by these means the way to sinning.

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[In the *History of Printing in America*, by Thomas (Worcester in Massach. 1810) the following anecdote is related of a humorous Bookseller, Editor of a Newspaper, called *The Boston Evening Post*:—

"In *the Evening Post* of Nov. 7, 1748, Fleet inserted this Advertisement, viz., '*Choice Pennsylvania Tobacco Paper, to be sold by the publishers of this Paper* at the Heart and Crown;

where may be also had the Bulls or Indulgences of the present Pope, *Urban* VIII.' [Fleet did not know much perhaps about the chronology of Popes—Benedict XIV. was Bishop of Rome in his day,] 'either by the single Bull, quire, or ream, at a much cheaper rate than they can be purchased of the French or Spanish Priests, and yet will be warranted to be of the same advantage to the possessors.'

"The Bulls or Indulgences of his Holiness were printed on the face of a small sheet; several bales of them were taken in a Spanish ship captured by an English Cruiser, and sent into Boston during the war between England and France and Spain in 1748. I have one of them now in my possession. Fleet purchased a large quantity of them, and printed various editions of Ballads on the backs of them." See Dr. Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer (Oxford, 1825) under *Boston*.]

## CHAPTER XXXI.

*The dismal unhappiness of the Romish people in having their Liturgy in a tongue unknown to them.*

*Ex ore tuo te judico serve nequam*—Thus begins Mr. *I. S.*'s answer to my Discourse upon this subject, wherein I lamented the misery of the Romish people, in having their Liturgy in a tongue unknown to them; and thus also shall my reply to him begin, which certainly will be to put the saddle upon the right horse. What is it, sir, that I have said which may be a judgment against myself in this case? That the purpose of nature by speaking is to communicate the sense of him who speaks to the hearer, which cannot be obtained, if the hearer perceives not the meaning of the words that he speaks—this, say you, proves against myself; for in the Liturgy or public service of the Church, we speak to God and not to the Congregation, and God can understand us, though we do not ourselves.

But stay, sir, is not the Liturgy, or public service of the Church, as well with you, as with us, composed of an exchange of speech between God and his people, *they* speaking to him in prayers and thanksgivings; *He* speaking to them by the Lessons of Sacred Scripture, by the Epistles, Gospels and Psalms? Is it not necessary, for both these purposes, that the people should understand what they address to God in prayer, and what he says to them by exhortation? And for the first, wherein you think your object is obtained, for praying, I mean; is not Prayer a rational and voluntary elevation of the mind, helped by the expressions and sense of the prayer read or said? Is not this elevation of the mind mainly advanced by understanding the words of the prayer read or said? Whoever heard a Psalm sung with solemn music, may well describe how different a feeling and elevation of mind he has when he sees or knows the words sung and the meaning of them, than when he hears the same Psalm without understanding either the words or the sense of them.

Your comparison of a Polander presenting a Petition in English

to the King of England, which he himself does not understand, aggravates your crime and publishes the misery of the people abused by you. Would not that Polander wish to know the English tongue to act in his own cause and be sure that he was not deceived by a Notary, who possibly might have framed a Petition for him to the King requesting to have his Father or Mother hung as traitors. If the King understood the Polish language as well as the English, were it not a madness in the said Polander to have his Petition penned in a tongue which he did not understand and with such disadvantages, if able to do it in his own tongue with the contrary advantages? What madness then is it in your people to frame their Prayers in a tongue unknown to them, to speak like Parrots, without feeling or knowing what they are saying, and exposed to the danger of being deceived by a knave, teaching them, or reading before them blasphemous words, in which they are to join with him by their Amen? And in case the prayer which is read before them be good, what tendency can it have in elevating the minds of the people to a conjunction in sense with the Minister, if they do not understand what he is saying? And thus ill it fares with you, even in the act of praying in your Liturgy, which you allow to be an elevation of the mind to God. Even in this point I have your own judgment against you, and so may return your text upon you, affirming, *Ex ore tuo te judico serve nequam.*

But what [shall we say] of the second part of the Liturgy above mentioned, containing the words of God addressed to the people in the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and other sacred Lectures intended for the spiritual regulation and food of their souls? Can this end be attained without perception and feeling in the people of what is said to them? You confess that St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv., prohibits preaching to the people in a language unknown to them;* and are not those sacred Lectures a kind of

* The Rev. Simon Foot has stated lately that at a funeral, where the Roman Catholics began to manifest unfriendly feelings, and endeavoured to interrupt the service, he having a knowledge of the *Irish* language, began the service in Irish; and the R. C. peasants, who had before evinced such a disposition to disturb the ceremony, gathered round the grave, seeming to forget at once their former prejudices, and when he came to the Lord's prayer, many of them actually joined in it. *Record Newspaper*, May 21, 1840.

preaching exhortation, and instruction of the people, and the best that can be, as proceeding immediately from God himself? Then you are acting against the Apostle's order, by your own confession, while proposing such exhortations to the people in a language unknown to them; and thus your text returns upon you here again in full measure—*Ex ore tuo te judico serve nequam.*

It is a discredit to a cause so clear to dwell longer upon it. But let the world protest against the tyranny which you practise in this way with souls, by depriving them of their spiritual food. What you say of submitting your judgment herein to the Church is idle and absurd, when our present business is to rebuke the abuses and corruptions of your Church—the causes of our dislike of it.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*The Cruelty of the Roman Church in prohibiting the reading of Scripture to the people, and their common pretence of Sects and divisions arising among Protestants refuted.*

From page 101,* of my former Discourse, I declared the Cruelty used towards the faithful people in prohibiting them the reading of Scripture, which is the food of their souls; shewing how contrary it is to the doctrine of Scripture itself, often inviting us to the reading of it, and to the doctrine and practice of the Fathers, and the people of the Primitive Church.

To all which Mr. *I. S.* replies, that the fruit which we have in the Protestant Church of permitting the people to read the Bible, is the variety of sects sprung from the reading of it. But this you may repeat with a better prospect of being believed, to others than to me, who know how matters stand on both sides, and am certain that there are more divisions in several Societies of your Communion, both in doctrine and in ceremonies, than in the Protestant Church. He who is acquainted with the differences of opinion between Jesuits and Dominicans, each one condemning the other for heresy, and doctrines destructive of good life, and of the merits of Christ; and the great difference in rites and ceremonies used among them, will clearly perceive that they differ more in all respects the one from the other, than the Orthodox Protestants do from any other Congregation of Christians in the Reformed Church. Their differences are not in matters so fundamental and necessary to salvation and a good life, as those of the dissenting Romish Societies. Their censures of one another are not so heavy; yea, the very stating of their questions on both sides declares as much; both assuming that they refer to things indifferent;—the Dissenters, or Non-conformists maintaining that the points in debate, being only ceremonial and indifferent, not essential to salvation or good life, ought not to be forced upon

* See p. 62 of the present volume.

them; the Orthodox alleging that very thing to render Dissenters criminal*—that the things enjoined being of their own nature indifferent, and not opposite to God's law, there is a necessity upon them of obeying lawful authority ordering such matters.

So much we may say in relation to Rites and Ceremonies, that there is not near so great a diversity among Orthodox Protestants, and other Congregations dissenting, as there is in the Ceremonies and Rites used in Colleges of Jesuits, and Convents of Dominicans, Carmelites, Franciscans, Carthusians, and other very many Societies differing both in habit, diet, Rites and Ceremonies one from the other.† All these differences both of Doctrine and Rites the Pope can wink at, provided they agree in paying obedience to him, and advancing his quarrel. The great union required by the Church of *England* makes meaner dissensions appear more

* Dr. Sall probably meant *blameable;* but civil and religious liberty was not so well understood in his times and practised as in the present. We may prefer and defend our own Church polity, without considering Dissenters *criminal*—we are not speaking of Sectarian Dissent which would not be unwilling to supplant an Establishment, and occupy the favoured height itself.

† It is really time that any idea as to there being any true Unity in the Church of Rome, except in the two points which Dr. Sall mentions, should be dissipated; and any fancy as to its superiority to other Churches even in this one point should for ever cease. Dr. John White has affirmed that "*there is no point of our faith, but many learned in their own* (the Roman) *Church hold it with us, and no point of Papistry that we have rejected, but some of themselves have disliked it, as well as we;*" and if an exhibition is either wanted or required of one side of this statement, it will be found—to mention but one head—in Bp. Taylor's section of the *Dissuasive from Popery*, pt. ii, §. xi. p. 342, Oxfd. 1836; and for various kinds of *Unity* with which Rome may perhaps claim no distant acquaintance, see Dr. White himself in *Way to the True Church* (Lond. 1616) §. 35, 2. In short, there can be no *real* Unity in the Modern Church of Rome, "Una, id est, consentiens in verâ fide, Ecclesia Romana dici non potest. Prima hujus rei ratio est, quia consensio in ea vera, id est, *libera*, locum non habet; sed quæcumque ibi est consensio, ea non nisi consensio coacta est et per vim ac metum extorta. Ubi enim dissentire non licet, ibi non habet locum vera consensio. Tolle si placet metum, tyrannidem, carcerem, crucem, ignes, rotas, concede cuilibet libertatem legendi, judicandi, dissentiendi, sine periculo famæ, vitæ, bonorum in Ecclesia Romana, et videbis quam brevi ea non dico in partes, sed infinitas particularum particulas dissilitura sit." Episcopii *respons. ad Epist. P. Wadingi de regula fidei*; cap. 8.

The Church of Rome has been for the last three Centuries (and is now) like an old willow, kept and held together with iron hoops. Let "*Civil and Religious Liberty*" be proclaimed in her dominions, and her "expansiveness" will be manifested by her breaking into ten thousand shivers.

sensibly; and greater yet would the dissensions and errors be, if the light of the Holy Scriptures were removed; for St. Jerome well observes, that infinite evils arise from ignorance of Scripture; from hence, he writes,* *most part of Heresies have arisen;* and so they are, of their own nature, and well used, not a *cause* of Dissensions and Errors, but a *cure* of them. And therefore the Roman Church being resolved not to be cured of her corruptions, decreed that the Scriptures should be removed from the eyes of the people; as appears by the Council of Bishops mentioned by Dr. *Stillingfleet*,† and by other grave writers of whose authority you doubt. But what need we the authority of that Council for a thing that we see with our eyes, and ordered by the Council of Trent—by Pius IV., Clement VIII., and Alexander VII. in the passages alleged on page 100 of my former Discourse?‡

* This seems a mistake—the sentiment occurs in Chrysostom in Præm. in *Epist. ad Rom.* §. 1, tom 9, edit. Paris, 1837.

† The supposed Council at *Bologna* in 1553 is alluded to; see note on the Sermon, p. 65 of the present volume.

This *Advice*, as it should be entitled, was translated into English by Dr. Clagett in the *State of the Church of Rome when the Reformation began, as it appeared by the Advices given to Paul III. and Julius III.*, &c. 4to. Lond. 1688.

‡ See p. 63 of the present reprint.

☞ Upon the general subject of this Chapter, the reader may be referred to Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive*, part ii. bk. 2, §. 5.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### Mr. I. S 's *undertaking relative to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the practice of confession confuted.*

As an instance of the cruelty of the Romish Church, in pressing upon the belief of the faithful things uncertain and repugnant to their judgment, I made a brief mention of the opinion about the Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin Mary; how they make people swear to defend it, and debar from offices and preferment those who will not take such oaths. And Mr. *I. S.* must needs enter into a formal dispute upon the point.

The testimony of *St. Paul* (saying, Rom. v.) that *all men sinned in Adam*, and consequently the Virgin Mary with the

* This is a subject of far greater importance than British Protestants could perhaps well imagine. The Franciscan, *Peter Walsh*, has occasion to notice "those manifold Constitutions of Sixtus IV., Pius V., Paul V., and Gregory XV., issued by them in the famous contest, which still had been carried on with so much heat, animosity, and scandal, on both sides, well nigh 300 years, about the blessed Virgin Mary's *Immaculate Conception;* that is, about her being conceived without Original Sin, and being preserved from it even in the very first instant of her life. A contest which had all the Dominican Schools and their partakers on one side; and all the *Franciscan* Schools and their abettors on the other; and those even publicly teaching, writing, preaching against these; nay condemning them for Heretics and guilty of mortal sin; as in like manner these declaiming against those no less, nor, as better, and the Universities of Paris, Colen, Mentz, Salamanca, Toledo, Alcala, Saragossa, Barcelona, Sevil, Valentia, and all the rest of *Spain*, not only at last owning it, but even excluding all those from commencing Doctors that would not first oblige themselves by oath, never to oppose the Negative, i.e. *her not being conceived in Original Sin:* nay, the very general Synod of *Basil* (Sess. 36, an. 1439) by an express Decree, though without any anathema, defining and declaring the said negative, as *pious* and agreeable to the *Church worship*, *Catholic faith*, *right reason*, and *Holy Scripture*, to be approved and embraced by all Catholics, and opposed by none thenceforth, if they would not do an unlawful thing. Yea, long after this, and almost in our memory, the king of Spain himself, Philip III., having sent a splendid embassy to *Rome*, by *Antonius de Treio*, intreating and mightily pressing his Holiness, to define the question ultimately, and under *anathema*, as a point of faith in the foresaid Negative: and yet all the Dominican Order unalterably persisting still, as to this day they do, in the Affirmative." *Four Letters by Peter Walsh;* pp. 413, 14: an. 1686. Luke Wadding's *Account of the Spanish Embassy* was published at Louvain in 1624, and is preserved in the British Museum.

The doctrine is eagerly supported even to the present day; See the *Bath Protestant* for 1840, p. 250.

rest, he considers of no value. *It is a general rule*, says he, *capable of exception;* but gives us no testimony to prove how the Virgin was excepted from that rule. He admits that Christ was the Universal Redeemer, and died for all men; but thinks it not a consequence that the Virgin should have been redeemed, or drawn, but only preserved from sin, and so the consequence of St. Paul was not legitimate, saying, 2 Cor. v. 14, *If one died for all, then were all dead;* or if it be legal, surely the Virgin was dead by original sin as the rest; otherwise all were not dead.

You say that it is not unlawful in a Community to require certain conditions from such as will be members of it, and so may require of them an engagement to defend the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. To demand conditions not including a disturbance of conscience, nor occasioning dissimulations may be lawful; not so, to require conditions contrary to a man's conscience and judgment, which was the point in question. You say that the Oath of Supremacy, in the opinion of Papists, is an Heresy, why then is it required from me? I answer—It is only folly or malice which can make it appear such, as I have shewn in the XVIII. Chap.; and the Law is not to be regulated by such passions.

I dwelt likewise, though briefly, upon the cruelty used with consciences in the practice of Confession, as well in the manner of its exercise, as in the frequent reservation of cases. And here Mr. *I. S.* must enter again into the deep of the dispute, whether Confession ought to be admitted; which was not the question; inasmuch as the Church of *England*, not only admits, but commends and enjoins the practice of Confession in necessary occasions, though not the unnecessary and pernicious superstructures* of the Roman Church, as it respects the mode prescribed, and the reservation of cases, occasioning lamentable perplexities, and desperate melancholy of soul; of which I could state miserable instances, if certain due considerations did not incline me to supersede enlarging upon a subject of this kind.

* The justice of these Epithets is shewn as well perhaps as in any modern publication, in *the Roman Catholic Confessional Exposed, in three Letters to a Cabinet Minister;* Dublin, 1837; the evidence and argument grounded thereon being derived from modern, and, in some cases largely circulated, Romish Manuals and Directories; of which a list is given p. 24. Among old writers, Bp. Taylor may be recommended; *Dissuasive from Popery*, pt. ii. pp. 341—79, Oxfd 1836.

I will add only one brief reflection upon a new addition of rigour introduced by Mr. *I. S.*, of which he will have St. Augustine to be the Author; that the quality of the sin, the place, time, continuance, and diversity of persons must be specified. This makes me doubt and wonder what kind of person my antagonist is; whether ever he was bred among learned men of the Roman Church, or ever read their books; for certainly any of them who has but the least tincture of moral theology, will think strangely of this paradox, that the place and time of sins are to be declared, as also the diversity of persons, being of the same kind or species. But of this description of lapses Mr *I. S.'s* Theology makes no scruple; if he were better acquainted with the practice of Doctors in the Romish Church, he would not bring up doctrines of Fathers opposite to the present practice of that Church. If he had been in the habit but of sitting certain hours of the day from *St. Luke's* to *Mayday*, or thereabouts, in the halls of Divinity of the Colleges of *Palencia* and *Tudela*, where he says no Divinity was ever taught, he would have learnt, that it is not the duty of a Penitent to specify in his Confession the time,* place, and diversity of persons, wherein and wherewith his sins were committed; and they would tell him, that if *St. Augustine* said the contrary, it was one of his errors, and a doctrine now out of date. But Mr. *I. S.* is of a stronger stomach, can swallow by the gross, and cares not so much for chewing or mincing distinctions in doctrines.

* Upon Dr. Sall's remark that it is not "the duty of a Penitent to specify the time" &c. in his Confessions, we must add that this of course in such a Church as that of Rome, which shapes herself to all circumstances (and by whom the *non obstante* clause is held more or less in constant requisition) must depend very much on circumstances. As usual, both sides might be stated and defended, from Romish writers, and opinions of all sorts brought forward: but the *modern* system and the *present* mode of managing Confessions, may be perhaps best learnt from the Dublin Pamphlet just referred to.

The value and real use of Confession in the Church of Rome is stated with a freedom seldom to be found elsewhere, by Alonzo Fernandez, a Spanish Dominican, when speaking of Peter Soto, who, as before noticed, became Confessor to Charles V., and says he, "*in that capacity managed the government of his great empire*,"—which shews, to use the words of a writer in the British Magazine, No7. 1839, at least the Spanish notion of the duties of a Confessor—no wonder if such a man was a match for English heresy. Fernandez *Hist. Eccles. de neustros tiempos*, lib. 3, c. 30; fol. Toledo, 1611: See *Scripp. Ord. Prædicat.* tom 2, p. 445; *British Mag.* p. 488; and Van Dale *de oraculis Ethnicorum*, p. 437. Amst. 1683.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*A reflection upon the many falsities, impertinences, absurdities, and hallucinations of Mr.* I. S.'s *book, which may justify a resolution of not misspending time in returning any further reply to such writings; and a conclusion of the whole Treatise, exhorting him to a consideration of his miserable condition in deceiving himself and others with vanity.*

Mr. *I. S.* concludes his book as he began and has proceeded in it, pouring out a shower of falsities, nonsense, impertinences, and hallucinations, of which I will give some evidences here; whereby the reader may see with how much reason I may resolve not to spend precious time in further answering, or taking notice of such faulty writings.

The very first words of his Dedicatory Epistle to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland contains a very heap of the said faults and falsities. He calls his book *A Vindication of both Churches, which a Viper has endeavoured to bite*, &c.; he might have better called it an affront to both Churches:—to the Protestant, for the rude injuries offered to her; to the Popish, for having no better defence of her cause to exhibit. With what truth or propriety can he say that I endeavoured to bite both Churches? As for the Protestant, I gave sufficient testimony of my endeavours to make the world know, that in her is professed the true Primitive, Catholic, Apostolic Faith, and that she is therefore the surest way to salvation; and as for the Roman Church, from which I received the belief of a Christian, if the matter be well considered, I will make it apparent that I have not been a Viper, but a dutiful and truly loving child; and more dutiful and true than Mr. *I. S.* —If a mother infected with a pestilent canker had two sons, of which the one knowing the remedy would apply it, notwithstanding the reluctancy and displeasure of the infected mother; and the other (not to displease his mother) would feed the sickness with lenitives or soothing, pleasing the mother, but festering her

wound and hastening her ruin; which of them should be regarded as the more truly dutiful and loving child? Certainly the former, who would apply a healing hand to the mother though against her will. This is the difference, Sir, between you and me. I saw that mother (at whose breast I sucked in the belief of a Christian, and therefore cannot choose but revere and love her as a mother) sickening of a pestilent canker—I tried to apply some beginnings of a remedy; and finding her impatient of a cure, while in her reach, I betook me to a distance whence I might apply the cure; letting her know that her Innovations, proceeding from ambition and avarice, are the causes of that pestilent disease which renders her odious to God and men. She should return therefore to her former innocency and holiness, as exemplified in St. Peter and his Successors for many ages, which rendered them glorious and venerable to all the world; their study being not to make Princes of Nephews and Nieces; or of Peasants, Heroes, and endeavouring with that view to make all mankind tributary to their power and riches; but aiming to attain to heaven themselves and to lead others thither, cherishing a contempt for the things of earth.

Soon after he asserts my having taught, *that there is no salvation in the Catholic Church*, without telling where or when I ever delivered such a doctrine (as indeed he could not do) professing, as I did, every day my belief in the Catholic Church, and protesting that I did, and would, live and die in it. If by Catholic Church he means only the Popish or Roman, it is a foul abuse of terms; especially when addressing the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other person of sense in a polemic discourse; and even speaking of the Roman or Popish Church, it is another great piece of untruth to say that I should have taught that none may be saved in it; as appears by the second Chapter of this Treatise. It is another wilful or rude mistake which he falls into very often, that by *Roman Church* I understand the Diocese of Rome, of which I never took any notice or regard in my discourse, which was concerning the Roman Church as opposed to the Reformed, and so containing the whole Congregation of men subject to the Pope of *Rome;* and it is to me a wonder, that this great Pretender to skill in Controversies should not know before now, that *that* is the meaning of the *Roman Church* in Controversies of this description.

What shall I say of his pitiful spite and envy in his Preface to the Reader, in pretending to rob me of those titles which my employments gave me so public and notorious (as appears in the Preface of this Treatise) without apprehension of shame from being convicted of palpable untruths? What shall I say of his rashness and rudeness in affixing as a Thesis or Title to the VIIIth. Chapter of his book—*That the Protestant Church is not the Church of Christ, nor any part of it; that they cannot without Blasphemy allege Scripture for their tenets?* What is to be thought of his profane Policy, in accusing me of indiscretion in delivering what I knew to be truth relative to the salvation of Protestants when I was on the Romish side, as mentioned in the XIVth. Chapter;—what of his blasphemous impiety in saying, that *no text of Scripture tells us that the Evangelists were in a state of grace when they wrote the Gospel, nor does any thing else give us assurance of it?* Nay, further, against the Gospel itself he pronounces this horrible Blasphemy—*That not only we are unsure of the Infallibility of the Gospel; but that we are assured it is not Infallible.* And this hellish conception of his own, he must father upon the Protestant Church, asserting, that it is the common doctrine of that Church that *it is impossible to keep God's commandments;* the falsehood of which malicious imposture I have demonstrated above in the VIIIth. Chapter of this Treatise. What of his boldness in challenging me and all Protestants to answer his ridiculous and silly Sophisms, with boastings that they will never be answered, as appears in the XVIIIth. Chapter respecting Transubstantiation, and in the XXVIth. about Purgatory; in denying that Scotus, Ocham, and other Schoolmen declare Transubstantiation not to be provable out of Scripture, as above affirmed, Chap. XX.: as also in denying that *Coster* asserts it is the common opinion of Romish Divines, that the Images of God and Christ are to be adored with the worship of Latria, as abovementioned, Chap. XXIII.

What shall be thought of his terrible hallucination in the matter of History regarding Indulgences, shewn in Chap. XXIX. appearing in every word ridiculously mistaken, when he pretends to be most magisterial in correcting the mistakes of his adversary? And, carrying on constantly to the end this spirit of untruth, hallucination, and impropriety of terms, he concludes his book by

telling me, that I know in my conscience that the Church of *Rome* is not guilty of the errors which I attribute to her as causes of my separation from her. How came you, Sir, to know the interior state of my Conscience? You tell me that I know the Pope's Supremacy in temporal affairs over Princes was no article of faith, but a School question—that the Pope's Infallibility was but an opinion of some Divines. As to the Pope's Supremacy I have exhibited above (Chap. XXV.) what little comfort is left to Princes by that distinction of the Pope's Supremacy in spirituals from that of his power in temporals; whereas he backs his spiritual power with a temporal to the ruin and deposing of all Princes and Emperors who resist him. The *one* only case of furious *Hildebrand* with the Emperor Henry III. as related by his own most friendly Historians, even *Baronius*, is apt to strike a horror into any human heart, and a terror into Princes and people, if the unspeakable arrogance of the Roman Court should not be bridled.

As for the Pope's Infallibility, I have proved above in the IIIrd. Chapter, how impertinent your distinction of the Pope apart from the Pope and his Council together, is, to escape the force of my arguments in the present Controversy; how falsely you say that I was speaking only of the Infallibility of the Pope *alone*, my arguments proving he is still fallible whether alone, or in a Council depending upon him, as that of *Trent*.

You tell me that I left the Roman Church, because I saw the Bible prohibited in it to the people, and the Liturgy performed in an unknown language. But though that is a great crime in the Roman Church (as I have shewn in the preceding Chapter) it was not the only cause; others several and grievous I produced more immediately affecting my own concern and daily practice, wherein I could not continue with quiet or safety of conscience.

You tell me that I forsook a Church honoured with many Saints, *for the Protestant Church, of which there was never yet any Saint*. If this be true St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* and the rest of the Apostles were no Saints, for I am certainly persuaded they were of the Church of which I am a member; their doctrine and their faith, and no other, being taught in it. But you allude perhaps to the mass of Protestants, as contradistinguished from Roman Catholics. Well, and how came you to know that none

of them was ever a Saint? Were you in the hearts of all, or did you ever sit in the tribunal of God, to know what degree of grace they had in his Sovereign inscrutable judgment? What is rashness if this be not? But you have titular Saints who have purchased that title by public authority, as Dukes, Earls, and Knights purchase theirs; of such we have none. Then you speak of titular Saints, not of real ones; and upon this account you must not expect to win me from the Protestant Church to yours. I hear of some Sectaries about us, I know not where, who style all of their Congregation Saints; to this degree of sanctity your Church has not aspired yet: then, if I ought to remove to a Church of more titular Saints, I should go to these Sectaries, not to you.

But you speak of Saints that obtain heaven, and thither none may reach but under the conduct of the Roman Pope! He has the keys of heaven, and none may enter there without his leave. I have heard of some Popes who were themselves kept out from entering thither, and I have great reason to believe that it was so, and to fear that by following their conduct, I should meet with the same repulse. It is one of your damnable errors, and not the least cause of my discontent with you, to affirm, that *none may be saved without paying obedience to the Pope*—a spark of Hell-fire, which kindled and keeps alive the miserable combustions and distractions of Christendom, the bloody Massacre of so many thousands of men,* and the desolation of so many noble Kingdoms and Provinces; a monstrous paradox cut out to the measure of the unmeasurable ambition of the Roman Pope and his Court, to force all the world with the terror of everlasting fire, adding to it the power of the sword where he can,† that they should resign up

* The celebrated Jesuit, *Denis Petau*, observes, that the bloody and calamitous 30 years' war (as it was called) was undertaken for the benefit of the Church of Rome. Speaking of Gustavus King of Sweden, who checked the career of victory, which had hitherto attended the Papal schemers, he remarks:—"nequicquam ei Catholicarum partium opposito duce Tillio;" and on the battle at Leipsic in 1631—"cujus excitus Catholicæ parti funestus accidit." D. Petavii *Rationarium Temporum*, Paris, 1652, p. 525.

† Very true—"where he can." We have lately had a different Note most charmingly sung in Ireland by Dr. Crolly at Cork, in reply to an address of some Roman Catholic gentleman:—

"The only return a Christian can make in such circumstances is 'to pray for those who revile and persecute him'—the only means of defence recommended

their obedience, and contribute their wealth and liberties to the support of that power and grandeur, the greatest that ever was entertained in the fancy of man, if men were so mad as to yield to the proposals of the Pope and his Emissaries.

With a view to diminish the heat of this hellish ambition—the Seminary of the miseries of Christendom—I have contributed my endeavours, even while I was among you, using only the armour of principles learned in your own Schools, and declaring that the practice of the Sycophantic Emissaries of the Roman Court is contrary not only to the intrinsic rules of Christian doctrine, but to the very professed tenets of the Romish Church—I do not say of the Romish Court, for though both are corrupt, they have their different ways, and to conform with the tenets of the Roman Church was not thought sufficient in me, if I did not also fashion my doctrine to the interests of the Roman Court, and to the extension of the grandeur of it; a want of policy or prudence of which Mr. *I. S.* accused me, as before mentioned.

I will continue now with more liberty and resolution the same endeavours in letting the world know how false and pernicious this doctrine is; how great the disingenuousness of Romish Emissaries in publishing and preaching it to the people, contrary to truth and their own knowledge, to win Proselytes by frightening them to the Romish faction; but it shall be in the school language and style, to make it more universal, not in the vulgar, to shun dealing with quibblers and cavillers, such as I find you to be, Mr. *I. S.* What you are in your person I know not certainly; but your style and mode of discourse fashioned to a vulgar humour, with a total neglect of what learned and serious men may think of it, makes me conceive that you may be one of those Preachers whom I have seen in Pulpits, with a dead man's scull in their hand, or the picture of a devil, or a damned soul surrounded with flames, and girded with snakes and toads, moving the ignorant

in the Sacred Scriptures, is, 'to let our light so shine before men,' that beholding our patience and forbearance under grievous calumnies, they may learn from our example that spirit of Charity, which is the best proof of the truth of our Religion!"

Dr. Crolly's Church has so often "let her light shine" in a different way, that we cannot help recording this new "proof of the truth" of Popery, as depicted in *Revelat.* xiii. 11: "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon," &c.

people with tragical cries and antic gestures to sighs and sobs, and knocking on their breasts; while those of more sense and discretion were exercising their patience and biting their lips to refrain from laughing at the showers of non-sense poured down with so much confidence. He who will reflect seriously upon the passages of your discourse which I pointed at in this Chapter, and many others of the same kind to be seen in your book, will perceive that I am doing you no injury in the character which I give of your writing, and in resolving to take no notice of any that I may see for the future of this kind, being desirous to make better use of the time God is pleased to lend me, than to spend it in sifting such trifles.

*Here* I will add only one argument more of this man's weakness and peevish temper, that, finding me refuting briefly a reply of *Becan* to an argument I was urging, and not understanding the drift of my argument, or wanting an answer, he only says that he knows not why I mentioned *Becan*, if it were not to let men know that I am acquainted with the books of great divines. Such as are acquainted with schools and books of Divinity, do know for what kind of Divines the *Summary of Theology* of Becan* was made, viz., for such as have not time or other requisites to go deeper.

Truly when I take points of Divinity in hand to resolve upon, I am not accustomed to rest upon the *Memorandums* of *Becan*. I allow Mr. *I. S.* the glory of being more conversant in this writer. And indeed I find them symbolize in one thing, which is to put off pressing arguments of their adversaries with a flout or sarcasm, fitted more to obtain vulgar applause than to the satisfaction of solid understandings.† This I observed sometimes in *Becan*

* Martin Becan, a Belgian, joined the Society of Jesus in 1583. He taught Theology at Wirtzbury, Mentz, and Vienna, for 22 years, with great applause. He was mighty obliging to any Heretics he happened to meet with, and behaved towards them with great elegance and suavity. Although elevated to the high station of Confessor to Ferdinand II., he used to keep himself low, and to perform humility by fetching water for his own use from the well, and died at Vienna in 1624. There were Editions of his *Compendium Manualis Controv. hujus temporis* Herbip. 1623; Duaci 1631; Monast. 1638; Patav. 1719. For his Life, see Alegambe *Biblioth. Soc. Jesu*, p. 583, edit. 1676; and Buddei *Isagog historico. theol. ad Theologiam.* vol. 2, p. 1087.

† The following remark by Bp. Taylor upon some replies to his writings deserves attention—the instances are so numerous that we may not unreasonably

(which made me regard him less) but very often so in Mr. *I. S.*

Another proof of the man's truth and talent, is to say that all the arguments contained in my Discourse are found in *Bellarmine*, as also the answers to them, with which I ought to have been contented without giving him the trouble of answering me. Say you so, sir? Then the answer which you return to me, are either out of *Bellarmine*, or of your own coining: if out of *Bellarmine*, your cause is desperate, when your ablest Champion could produce no better defence of it; if of your own framing, then you have betrayed your trust in building the credit of your cause upon so weak a ground, and not producing the soundest reasons that existed in its favour on an occasion of so great expectation; for certainly he must be very blind who will not see by what is said in this Treatise, that your answers are very weak, impertinent, and often ridiculous.

But of all this you have an excuse in the condition of your cause. The greatest wits are too weak to support it. Look upon *Scotus* in 4. dist. 10. q. 3. shivering the arguments of *Aquinas* and others in favour of Transubstantiation, and you will see wit and learning triumph in his Discourses. Look upon the same *Scotus* engaged in defending Transubstantiation, to comply with the *Lateran* Council, though against his own sentiments, as he confesses, and you will find him ridiculous! as may appear by what I related of him above, Chap. XXIII. How strong and argumentative is *Suarez* in defence of Christian verities against Infidels! how faint and wavering in the defence of Purgatory, Indulgences, &c. as seen above Chap. XXXI.! It is a complaint become very common among your party against *Bellarmine*, that the arguments which he objects against the Romish tenets, are stronger than his answers to them, and certain I am, that it was not for want of wit or will in him to advance the Roman interest, it was THE CONDITION OF THE CAUSE.

suppose it to be a plan:—"it seems they care not what any man says or proves against them, if the people be but *cozened* with a *pretended* answer; for that serves the turn as well as a wiser." Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive*, note pt. ii. p. 390, Ox. 1836.

And again—"there are very many that read him, who never will or can examine what S. Ambrose says, and with all such he (E. W.) hopes to escape." p. 423.

You boast of austerities which are practised by some Orders of the Romish Church.* If this be a rule of Perfection, there are Pagans who exceed you in it, afflicting their bodies by desperate austerities, even to the destruction of soul and body together. It is one of your Calumnies to say that Protestants are accustomed to condemn fasting and corporal afflictions discreetly used and without Hypocrisy, in order to curb the lust of the flesh; such they commend, and many practice, though with less ostentation than is customary among you.

You tell me that the Precepts of the Roman Church, without controversy oblige me, and that by every omission of a Holy day, Mass, &c. I am committing a heinous sin. Oh, great Divine! I have demonstrated with reasons, in my own judgment at least, evidently convincing, that I cannot fulfil the precepts of the Roman Church without infringing the Divine; that in many

* Just as Mr. O'Connell tells the Protestants of England, that when a man becomes a member of his Church "he enters a Religion in which he is restricted by fasts, by abstinence, by Lenten penances, by the humiliation of Auricular Confession, by the subjugation of the pride of the understanding—and the adoption, in its place, of an entire submission in spiritual matters to the authority of the Church." Address, p. vi. prefixed to *A full report of the Meeting in London*, edited by D. O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; London, 1839.

We assert that the greater part of this is mere delusion—a member of the Church of Rome fully satisfies his allegiance to her, in her own more peculiar territories at least, by attention to the two points which Dr. Sall so properly selects—submission to the Church, and by paying her dues. It is true that others may go through all which Mr. O'C. mentions, and much more, may macerate and lacerate, may act the Brahmin or Pythagorean (see Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. 1, pp. 377, 378,) and *perform* in a variety of ways, very well calculated in a country like England to obtain credit to the Order, to please themselves, to astonish the vulgar, and to contrast, (an' please you) Catholic severity and mortification with Protestant recklessness and sensuality! But Romanists in general are not bound to do this—they *may* if they like, as their Church will find employment for all comers, and suit all tastes. How frequently are we reminded of the oft, and yet not too often, quoted passage from Sandy's *Survey of Religion*, on the ways, which the Church of Rome studies and finds "to fit each humour and ravish all affections!" It is given at length in Dr. Hale's *Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles;* and in Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome;* pp. 346—8, Land. 1830.

Verron's *Rule of Catholic Faith*, translated by Waterworth, and published in Birmingham, 1833, and which has been recommended by Dr. Wiseman and the Irish Priests, leaves a man quite at liberty to believe any thing or nothing, just as it suits him (for a time at least) about the peculiar doctrines of the Latin Church.

things they are opposite. Which of them shall I prefer? Is it not so, that *we ought to obey God rather than man?* Acts v. 29. You speak of vows that I made; but if all was grounded upon a blind obedience to the Pope of *Rome*, involving a disobedience to the Laws of God—whereof I am now certainly persuaded, and have delivered reasons for it, which after sundry oppositions and strict scrutinies remain still in the same force with me—by the common vote of Divines such vows are null, and I am totally free from an obligation of complying with them.

And finally, whereas you conclude with exhortations to me of returning to your Communion, I will requite you with an admonition better grounded, of considering the miserable condition in which you are living, pleased with the splendor of the Roman grandeur, and baited with the strong allurements of it, deceiving the world with colours of sanctity, when ambition and avarice is the *primum mobile*, and the soul that animates all your motions. Many simple souls are not aware of the profane and secular drifts of this great engine of Religion set up by cunning Italians, to make all the world contribute to their lust and pride, hooking in with sleight, more than those more honest ancient Romans could win by the sword. But you and your Brethren who pretend to learning and knowledge, are in a worse condition, and we have but too much ground to suspect that you are wilfully in an error, and therefore guilty of deceiving the world, and being accomplices in the destruction and miseries of Christendom, being yourself the most deceived, when your business is to deceive others. This is a matter of greater scruple and consequence than that which you intimate to me of an obligation to hear Mass on every Holy-day. I commend it therefore to your serious consideration, and to fear and think upon seriously that woe pronounced against corrupt teachers, by the Prophet *Ezekiel* xxxiv. 2, &c. *Woe to the Shepherds of Israel that feed themselves. Should not the Shepherds feed the flock? * * * * with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them; and they were scattered because there is no Shepherd. * * * * Therefore, O ye Shepherds, hear the words of the Lord, Thus saith the Lord God, behold I am against the Shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock*, &c.

O how may we fear that this will be the end of your pride and

cruelty! that aiming to possess all, you will lose all; and while you pretend to domineer over all the faithful, you may be trampled under the feet of Infidels.* If you continue to set God against you it will be so, he will cause you *to cease from feeding the flock*, and require at your hands the care of it.

This is our fear: but our earnest desire and hearty prayer to God is, that he may be graciously pleased to clear your minds from the cloud of earthly passions, which possessed of the will, do blind the understanding; that he may raise your hearts to a real enquiry of God's honour and service, and inspire into your leaders thoughts of peace with your Christian brethren, and not a further affliction to his Holy Church.

* There is no great fear of that, just at present, at least, in England, as the two parties coalesce on some very important subjects. With regard to the authenticity and certainty of the books comprising the Holy Scriptures, the tactics of Romish Priests and Infidels are often, "even in lesser points, the same —such as quoting and perverting passages from individual Protestant writers, to make out their argument. Both Wiseman and Milner follow Shaftesbury and Tindal in this respect, as any one may see, by comparing them together." Page 22 of an excellent Enquiry into the sameness of procedure, and the "connexion between Popery and Infidelity" in *The Truths of Protestantism contrasted with the Errors of Popery, in a series of Lectures;* Glasgow, 1837; No. 8, by the Rev. J. Gibson, where the arguments and statements of Drs. Milner and Wiseman, and those of Toland, Bolingbroke, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, &c. are shewn to be surprisingly similar—almost identical.

FINIS.

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